

The Cadwalader Family

Art and Style in Early Philadelphia





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The Cadwalader Family
Art and Style in Early Philadelphia

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Cover: *Portrait of John and Elizabeth Lloyd Cadwalader and Their Daughter Anne* (detail), by Charles Willson Peale (fig. 25)

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Benjamin Cadwalader

Mr. and Mrs. Thomas F. Cadwalader, Jr.

Joan Ingersoll Coale

Committee of 1926, Strawberry Mansion

H. Richard Dietrich, Jr.

Dietrich American Foundation

John A. Ey, Jr.

Historic St. Peter's Church Preservation Corp.

The Historical Society of Pennsylvania

Mae Cadwalader Hollenback

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National Grange Mutual Insurance Company—
The Green Tree Collection

The Metropolitan Museum of Art

Philadelphia Museum of Art

Philadelphia Society for the Preservation of
Landmarks

Howard H. Rapp, Jr.

The Henry Francis du Pont Winterthur Museum

Private collection

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The history of collecting and commissioning works of art in the American colonies and the early years of the United States is often sadly interrupted by gaps in our knowledge resulting from the dispersal of household treasures over many decades as later descendants of an eighteenth-century family move far afield. It is therefore a remarkable and rare occasion when a significant group of paintings and prized possessions, having descended through ten generations, enters the public domain.

Thanks to the foresight and public spirit of Captain John Cadwalader and his family, and through the generosity of the Mabel Pew Myrin Trust, the Philadelphia Museum of Art was able, beginning in 1980, to acquire a set of five portraits by Charles Willson Peale, an ornately carved card table, and seven additional family portraits. Other works of art with Cadwalader provenance have followed as gifts and long-term loans from a variety of generous sources. Not only did the Museum and its many visitors have reason to be extraordinarily grateful for the addition of the Cadwalader Collection to its permanent collections, but the study of the history of American art received a great benefaction at the same time.

This publication accompanies an exhibition at the Museum which reassembles the most substantial number of works of art owned by John and Elizabeth Cadwalader since 1770–71, when the young couple first filled their splendidly refurbished Second Street town house. The essays by Jack Lindsey and Darrel Sewell, derived from research in the Cadwalader family archival records (now preserved in the Historical Society of Pennsylvania) and from more recent studies of the furniture, paintings, and other objects themselves, contribute to a growing fund of knowledge about the arts in eighteenth- and early nineteenth-century Philadelphia. Other notable contributions to scientific and art-historical research inspired at least in part by Cadwalader objects have included a technical analysis of the pigments used in Peale's portraits, conducted in 1987 by the Museum's head of conservation, Marigene Butler; the Cadwalader Study Project, an in-depth examination of all known surviving examples of the Cadwalader furniture, with an accompanying report published by the conservation department at Winterthur in 1995; and the exhibition *American Rococo*, presented jointly in 1992 by

the Metropolitan Museum of Art and the Los Angeles County Museum of Art.

We are grateful not only for the generosity which made possible the acquisition of the Cadwalader Collection, but also for the loan of works of art and the sharing of information from family members near and far, and from our colleagues at the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, the Henry Francis du Pont Winterthur Museum, and the Metropolitan Museum of Art. Grants from the Pew Charitable Trusts and the Henry Luce Foundation, Inc., have brought the exhibition into being. Presenting a view of eighteenth-century Philadelphia artistic talent and craftsmanship at its most sophisticated, the exhibition also makes clear the great leap in taste which brought the Cadwaladers (and many of their compatriots) from a fondness for ornate English style in the 1770s to a fascination with everything French by 1820.

We are delighted that this exhibition and publication, which coincide with the three-hundredth anniversary of the date on which the Welsh immigrant John Cadwalader first set foot on Pennsylvania soil, can play a part in celebrating a family that has had so much to do with the distinguished history of Philadelphia as a center for the arts.

Anne d'Harnoncourt
The George D. Widener Director



In 1700, Andreas Rudman, the pastor of Gloria Dei Church in Philadelphia observed, "If anyone were to see Philadelphia who had not been there [before], he would be astonished beyond measure [to learn] that it was founded less than twenty years ago. . . . All the houses are built of brick, three or four hundred of them, and in every house a shop . . . so that whatever one wants at any time he can have, for money."¹ Philadelphia's early prosperity was due largely to founder William Penn's thoughtful and innovative town planning and his ability to successfully promote the city's commercial potential. Penn's *Brief Account of the Province of Pennsylvania* (1681) was widely circulated in England and on the Continent; *Portraiture of the City of Philadelphia*, a map prepared by Thomas Holme, Penn's surveyor general, was published in London in 1683, further illustrating the young city's advantage for trade. Three quarters of the colony's initial investors, the so-called "first purchasers," were recruited through Penn's influential financial and religious contacts. His membership in the Society of Friends (Quakers) and the promise of religious tolerance brought an influx of influential English and Welsh Quakers to Pennsylvania, as well as large numbers of Anglican, Dutch Reformed, Baptist, Lutheran, and Presbyterian settlers.

The competing political, financial, and philosophical agendas among these groups resulted in the swift expansion and diversification of the city's economic and political base. By 1690, Philadelphia had established itself as the most important port on the Delaware and began to effectively compete with both Boston and New York in the lucrative colonial import and export economies. Organizations such as the Free Society of Traders, originally incorporated in 1682, promoted the city's rapidly developing economy through joint speculative investments, seeking to gain a unified advan-

tage over the operations governing the colony's exports, imports, and commerce in and out of the Delaware Bay. Many of the Society's more than two hundred merchant investors—most of whom were from upper-class, Quaker backgrounds—had extensive trading experience throughout the New World, and they capitalized on their circle of Quaker contacts to gain and expand their markets and influence.²

In support of this growing mercantile trade, some twenty-two shopkeepers and 119 craftsmen had by 1690 established various shops and cottage industries in Philadelphia. The city's early leadership recognized the importance of these domestic tradesmen and craftsmen to the success of enterprise, and many journeymen and skilled laborers came to Philadelphia from the economically depressed counties of northern and western England, sponsored through an extensive system of indentures and apprenticeships financed by the colony's leading commercial investors.³ This system not only expanded the available pool of skilled labor and talent but also led to the city's prominent role as an intellectual center for artistic production and scientific inquiry.

Hostilities with France and Spain during Queen Anne's War (1702–13) severely disrupted traffic with the West Indies, Philadelphia's only major commercial trading area. But the Treaty of Utrecht (1713), which ended the war, brought expanded markets and renewed prosperity. Still, the city's growth remained moderate, and Peter Cooper's painting of the Philadelphia riverfront (fig. 1) may have been commissioned, like Thomas Holme's map of 1682, to promote the city to potential investors.⁴

The dramatic increase in the colony's population during the late 1720s and 1730s transformed the earlier, predominantly Quaker-based power structure into a much more

Fig. 1. Peter Cooper (English, c. 1698–1725). *The South East Prospect of the City of Philadelphia*, c. 1720. Oil on canvas, 20 x 87" (50.8 x 221 cm). The Library Company of Philadelphia

Philadelphia's sophisticated character established itself early in the city's development. The well-planned streets and stylish town houses were widely acclaimed for their elegance and beauty.

representative, diversified community. Rapid development of the colony's agricultural hinterlands also brought vast economic growth to the city's various mercantile, maritime, and manufacturing enterprises, and by 1760, Philadelphia was the largest, most prosperous port in America. Thomas Jefferson confirmed the city's urbane sophistication, writing in 1786 that "the city of London, though handsomer than Paris, is not so handsome as Philadelphia."⁵

Although Philadelphia was growing ever more diverse, many of the city's most important political, business, and social networks had been established years earlier, within the circle of Penn's "first purchasers." Family relationships formed the fabric of Pennsylvania's early society, and power and influence were maintained and increased through extensive patterns of inheritance, strategic intermarriage, and social connection. To further the image of dynastic power, many of the city's leading families established elegant town and country houses, outward symbols of their stability and order, influence and refinement. Among the grandest of these was the Philadelphia home of John and Elizabeth Lloyd Cadwalader, purchased by the couple in 1769.

The Cadwalader family had a distinguished history of leadership and public service in Philadelphia from its earliest years, and they continued to play a pivotal role in the city's political, intellectual, and cultural circles during the Revolution and in later Federal periods. The family's founder in America, John Cadwalader (1677/78–1734), immigrated to the colony from Pennlyn, in the Welsh county of Merionethshire, in 1697. He quickly established himself as an effective businessman and leader among Philadelphia's Quaker elite, enjoying social interaction with the Penns. In 1699, he married Martha Jones, the daughter of Dr. Edward Jones, another prominent Quaker newly arrived from Merionethshire. The couple settled in the area known as Merion, in the Welsh tract, a large parcel of land northwest of the city granted by Penn to a group of prominent Welsh Quakers who held his favor.⁶ John served as a councilman of Philadelphia from 1718 to 1733, as a justice of the Court of Common Pleas, Quarter Session, and as a member of the provincial Assembly from 1729 until his death in 1734.⁷

One of the earliest surviving objects documented to the Cadwalader household is a silver tankard made about 1712 by the London silversmith William Penstone (fig. 2). Its superb craftsmanship, substantial weight (forty-two ounces), and modest ornament are typical of the simple yet refined tastes embraced in many of the city's early Quaker households. Conservative and orthodox in their faith, the Cadwaladers educated their four children in the Friends' public school and attended the Bank Meeting House on Front Street. Their three daughters married into prominent Quaker families, and their only son, Thomas (1707/8–1779), apprenticed to his maternal uncle, Dr. Evan Jones, studied medicine in Europe, and returned to a distinguished medical career in the city.

In 1738, Dr. Thomas Cadwalader married Hannah Lambert, who brought to the union a large dowry that included land holdings from her family in New Jersey. The couple lived near Trenton from 1739 to 1750, when they returned to Philadelphia, where Thomas continued his medical research at Pennsylvania Hospital. Seven of their eight children survived infancy, and the marriages of their daughters illustrate the strategic ties established between influential colonial families: Martha (1739–1791) married General John Dagworthy; Mary (1745–1791) married her first cousin, General Philemon Dickinson, who in turn married Rebecca (1746–1816) after Mary's death in 1791; Margaret (1749–1820) married General Samuel Meredith; Elizabeth (1760–1799), the youngest, died unmarried.⁸ The couple's two sons, John (1742–1786) and Lambert (1743–1823), rose to prominence in the city during the Revolution, each distinguishing himself in his military and political leadership.⁹

The brothers attended the College of Philadelphia, where their father served as a trustee. Both were listed as members of the class of 1760, though neither is noted as having graduated. Surviving correspondence suggests that they went abroad, completing their education in England and then embarking on the grand tour of the Continent. By 1763, they had returned to Philadelphia, where together they established a dry goods importing firm under the name of John and Lambert Cadwalader.¹⁰ Passage of the Stamp Act (1765) and other unfair taxation from the Crown led the brothers to support the Nonimportation Agreement of

1765, which significantly changed and likely curtailed their business, which closed early in April 1769. They supported the policies of American resistance to British taxation outlined in *Letters from a Pennsylvania Farmer*, written in 1767–68 by their cousin, John Dickinson.

Tensions in the colonies rose even higher in reaction to the Boston Tea Party in December of 1773. The so-called Intolerable Acts, imposed by Parliament to punish and isolate Massachusetts, served instead to unite sympathetic moderates throughout the colonies. In 1774, John Cadwalader contributed a total of £32 10s. “for the relief of the inhabitants of Boston.”¹¹ The Cadwalader brothers, however, were not merely sympathetic to the patriot cause; they took an active role in the Revolution. Lambert served as a member of the provincial convention of 1775 and the state convention of 1776. During the war he led a company of the Third Philadelphia Battalion and later commanded a Pennsylvania regiment of the Continental army. Rising to the rank of colonel, he was taken prisoner in the Battle of Fort Mifflin in October 1776. Following the war, Lambert served several terms in Congress and devoted much of his time to the administration of his New Jersey estate, Greenwood, near Trenton.¹²

It was Lambert's older brother John, however, who raised the reputation and civic contributions of the family to their highest levels. Widely respected for his convictions and effort toward the patriotic cause, John distinguished himself early in the Revolution, organizing and outfitting an infantry unit comprised of four officers and eighty enlisted men, with himself as captain. He was made colonel of one of the city's three battalions, and in December of 1776 was appointed brigadier general of the Pennsylvania militia.¹³ He was noted for his heroism as a leader in the battles of Trenton and Princeton. George Washington, Cadwalader's close associate and friend, described him as “a military genius, of a decisive and independent spirit, properly impressed with the necessity of order and discipline and of sufficient vigor to enforce it.”¹⁴

Cadwalader further proved his loyalty to Washington during the so-called Conway Cabal of 1777–78, a conspiracy involving General Thomas Conway and others who sought to replace Washington as commander in chief with General Horatio Gates (Washington



had recently been defeated at Brandywine and Germantown, and Gates was the popular hero of Saratoga). The plot was exposed, and Conway's co-conspirators made him the scapegoat. Cadwalader challenged Conway to a duel and wounded him severely with a shot to the mouth, after which Cadwalader is reputed to have said, “I guess that will shut his damned lying mouth for a while.”¹⁵ Conway survived, apologized, and the matter was closed.

In addition to his distinguished heroism and integrity as a military leader, John Cadwalader proved himself to be a man of intellect and polished manners among his Philadelphia peers. His extensive account books document numerous contributions, membership fees, and expenditures in support of Philadelphia civic and social organizations and causes. He was a member of the American Philosophical Society as well as the Society of the Sons of Saint Tammany, a patriotic organization. An avid sportsman, Cadwalader enjoyed memberships in the Jockey Club, the Gloucester Fox Hunting Club, and the “Summer Club,” a gentlemen's fishing and dining club that met near the Falls of Schuylkill. He was known for his love of dancing and the theater as well as for his appreciation of fine food and spirits.¹⁶ Undoubtedly a desirable and eligible bachelor, Cadwalader remained unmarried until September 1768, when at the age of twenty-six, he married

Fig. 2. Tankard, c. 1712. Made in London by William Penstone (English, active after 1694). Silver, height 8½" (21.6 cm), base diameter 6" (15.2 cm). Philadelphia Museum of Art. Gift of Mr. and Mrs. Henry Cadwalader, 1991-81-2

This tankard, which originally belonged to John Cadwalader (1677/78–1734), is one of the earliest English examples documented in Philadelphia. Its form and simple mid-band are typical of the period and may have served as inspiration for tankards produced by early Philadelphia silversmiths such as Francis Richardson (1681–1729) and Philip Syng, Sr. (1676–1739).

Elizabeth Lloyd (1711–1776), the daughter of Edward Lloyd of Wye House, Talbot County, one of the largest landowners in Maryland and one of the wealthiest men in the colonies. Elizabeth's personal fortune at the time of her marriage to Cadwalader was estimated at over eleven thousand pounds, including nearly thirty-seven hundred acres of plantation lands in Kent and Talbot counties in Maryland, seventy-eight slaves, one hundred twenty-five horses, extensive other livestock, and £427 worth of domestic silver (see fig. 7).¹⁷

Possibly because of Elizabeth's parents' declining health, the new couple did not immediately set up household in Philadelphia. During the winter and spring of 1768–69 they were in Maryland with her family and only infrequently in Philadelphia. After Elizabeth's mother's death on May 1, 1769, Edward Lloyd proposed an advance of monies to secure the couple an appropriate town house in Philadelphia, specifically one located on Second Street that he knew of through business dealings with its owner, Samuel Rhoads. The purchase was completed on July 1, 1769.¹⁸

While the house John and Elizabeth purchased was substantial and impressive, the simplicity of its interior reflected the restrained Georgian classicism preferred by many Philadelphia Quakers. However, by 1769, John and Elizabeth were listed as pew subscribers at St. Peter's Church at Third and Pine. Like many sons from later generations of Philadelphia's early Quaker families, John left the Society of Friends to join the Anglican Church.¹⁹ The plainness of the house could be corrected, and the redecoration programs begun by the couple in late 1769 resulted in some of the most elegant rococo interiors created anywhere in eighteenth-century America. Philadelphia's finest craftsmen converged on the site, creating commodious rooms decorated with interior carved paneling, gilt surfaces, and ornamental stucco and plasterwork. To furnish these rooms, the best of the city's artists, cabinet-makers, upholsterers, silversmiths, and other specialized craftsmen were commissioned. The resulting scheme was unrivaled in its richness. Silas Deane, a Connecticut member of the Continental Congress recorded his visit to the Cadwaladers in June of 1774, stating "I dined yesterday with Mr. Cadwallader [*sic*], whose furniture and house exceeds anything I have seen in this city or elsewhere."²⁰

The surviving detailed manuscript bills, receipts, and accounts for the redecoration and furnishings commissioned for the Cadwalader town house, many of which are preserved in the collections of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, provide a rare opportunity to study the process in which these remarkable interiors were created. John and Elizabeth Cadwalader's understanding of and desire for the latest fashion, together with their vast financial resources, enabled Philadelphia's urban artisans and craftsmen to demonstrate their high level of refinement and sophistication at the close of the colonial period.

1. Quoted in Ruth L. Springer and Louise Wallman, "Two Swedish Pastors Describe Philadelphia, 1700 and 1702," *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography*, vol. 84, no. 2 (April 1960), p. 207.
2. Edwin B. Bronner, "Village into Town: 1701–1746," in *Philadelphia: A Three Hundred-Year History*, ed. Russell E. Weigley et al. (New York: W. W. Norton, 1982), p. 19.
3. *Ibid.*, p. 20.
4. *Ibid.*, pp. 34–36.
5. Quoted in Wendell Garrett, editorial, *The Magazine Antiques*, vol. 131, no. 5 (May 1987), p. 1043.
6. Many prominent Welsh Quakers held close political and social ties to Penn, having experienced similar forms of discrimination and financial disenfranchisement. See Frederick B. Tolles, *Meeting House and Counting House: The Quaker Merchant of Colonial Philadelphia, 1682–1783* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, for the Institute of Early American History and Culture at Williamsburg, Virginia, 1948).
7. Nicholas B. Wainwright, *Colonial Grandeur in Philadelphia: The House and Furniture of General John Cadwalader* (Philadelphia: Historical Society of Pennsylvania, 1964), p. 126. Wainwright's book is the most detailed study of the Cadwalader family and the Philadelphia town house, and the present study is deeply indebted to this work.
8. *Ibid.*, p. 110. For further genealogical information, see T. L. Robert N. Cadwalader, "The Ancestors of Thomas Francis Cadwalader, Jr. (Colonel, Md. Army Nat. Guard. Ret.) and the American Descendants of John Cadwalader, Immigrant 1697," unpublished manuscript, 1994.
9. The pacifism and non-violence which predicated orthodox Quaker philosophy led many patriotic Friends to leave the faith around the time of the Revolution. For others, conversion took on economic, business, or social dynamics. While Dr. Thomas Cadwalader held no military position, he did support the Revolutionary effort, and as a result may have become alienated from the Society. Certainly John and Lambert Cadwalader's active military participation would have brought them at odds with the Friends. In addition, John's father-in-law, Edward Lloyd, was Anglican, and may have influenced John's decision to convert.
10. Ledgers and Receipts, 1762–1770, Cadwalader Collection, Historical Society of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia (hereafter referred to as "Cadwalader Collection").
11. Waste Book, 1769, Cadwalader Collection.
12. Wainwright 1964, p. 114.
13. *Ibid.*, pp. 62–63.
14. *The Writings of George Washington*, ed. John C. Fitzpatrick, vol. 37 (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1932), p. 548, quoted in Wainwright 1964, p. 2.
15. Cadwalader 1994, chart 1, n. 10.
16. Wainwright 1964, p. 2.
17. Colonel Edward Lloyd Estate Papers, Ledgers and Inventories, Cadwalader Collection.
18. Wainwright 1964, p. 3. The purchase price of the Philadelphia town house, £2,650, gives some indication of the scale of Elizabeth Lloyd's vast personal fortune at the time of her marriage.
19. See note 9 above.
20. *Collections of the Connecticut Historical Society*, vol. 2 (Hartford, 1870), pp. 252–55, quoted in Wainwright 1964, p. 1.

By the middle of the eighteenth century, many of Philadelphia's largest, most elegant town houses were located along Second and Third Streets, between Pine and Walnut. Much of the area, previously owned by the Free Society of Traders, was known during the period and today as Society Hill, and was conveniently located near the commercial district on the waterfront, the New Market below Pine Street, and the central merchant and shopkeepers areas on High Street (Market Street) (see fig. 3). Advertisements in newspapers such as the *Pennsylvania Gazette* suggest that by 1769 Second Street had become a mixed business and residential street, with small shops and offices located in the street-front rooms of some houses.¹ This arrangement apparently did little to diminish the stylishness of the address, however: John Dickinson, Judge William Coleman, Edward Shippen, and several other prominent Philadelphians were all neighbors along this street.

On October 1, 1769, John Cadwalader wrote to his London representative and agent that he was detained at Edward Lloyd's Wye House in Maryland and would not be able to supervise the beginning stages of the work on his newly acquired house in Philadelphia, as

the misfortune that has happened in the family [Mrs. Lloyd's death] & the Colonel's bad state of health have kept us still unsettled."² He entrusted his brother Lambert to oversee the payment of bills for improvements to the lot, construction of the stables, and the initial dismantling of portions of the existing house's interior. He also had the house and its dependent buildings insured against fire by the Philadelphia Contributionship, placing the maximum allowable coverage of £1,000 on the house, even though his purchase price from Samuel Rhoads had been £2,650; an additional £400 was placed on the detached kitchen. The house and its interior appointments at the time of its purchase by Cadwalader were carefully described in the insurance survey made by Gunning Bedford on August 25, 1769, and it is this record which affords the clearest information on the original layout and dimensions of the house.³ The facade and interior arrangement were typical of a large Philadelphia house of the period. Bedford's survey notes that the house was nine years old at the time of the survey, and that it was "38 feet front—41 feet deep—3 Storeys high . . . 3 rooms and a passage in Each Story" (see fig. 4).⁴

Fig. 3. Detail of a plan of the city of Philadelphia, 1762, possibly by Henry Dawkins (American, born England, active c. 1753–86), after Nicholas Scull (American, 1687–1761). Engraving, 20% x 26 3/4" (51.1 x 67.9 cm). I.N. Phelps Stokes Collection, Miriam and Ira D. Wallach Division of Art, Prints, and Photographs, The New York Public Library, Astor, Lenox and Tilden Foundations



Like most town houses of its size, the street façade was divided into two windows on one side of the door and one window on the other. The "dorick frontispiece," which Cadwalader later had redesigned to a more ornate version, framed the main doorway that opened onto the interior stairhall. The kitchen was housed in a separate, two-story structure to the rear of the main house, measuring fourteen by thirty-seven feet. The kitchen building probably also housed a laundry and servants quarters and was connected to the main house by a covered passage, or piazza.

Early in 1770, Cadwalader purchased adjoining vacant lots to increase the area for his stable and garden, as well as a four-acre lot on Cedar Street (South Street) for pasturing his horses.⁵ With these adjoining properties assembled and insured, Cadwalader hired the master builder Thomas Nevell to supervise the redesign and improvements to the property. Nevell, a prominent member of the Carpenters' Company, was well-versed in the latest architectural fashion. He had been involved in many of the city's most prominent, influential building projects and was respected for his talent and skill.⁶ David Evans, also from the Carpenters' Company, was hired to oversee the general construction, including a rear addition to the main house for Cadwalader's personal secretary and for the domestic servants, a new kitchen and pantry, privies, stables, and a carriage house. Together, Nevell and Evans assembled the extensive and talented group of masons, plasterers, woodworkers, and other skilled craftsmen to complete the project.

While Nevell's design left the basic room arrangements of the earlier house intact, he made slight changes to improve the circulation from room to room. His familiarity with the latest design and pattern books may have influenced his recommendation for more ornate decorations, which included carved ceiling cornices and friezes, decorative carving around the windows and doorways, and entablatures with brackets, molded stucco, and gilt ornaments.

Nevell's shop replaced nearly all of the paneling, window and door frames, doors, cornices, and fireplace surrounds in the parlors, billing Cadwalader the impressive sum of £374 17s. 3d. Benjamin Randolph (1721–1791), one of the city's leading cabinetmakers, was hired to execute the extensive applied carved ornament decorating these paneled surfaces, adding an

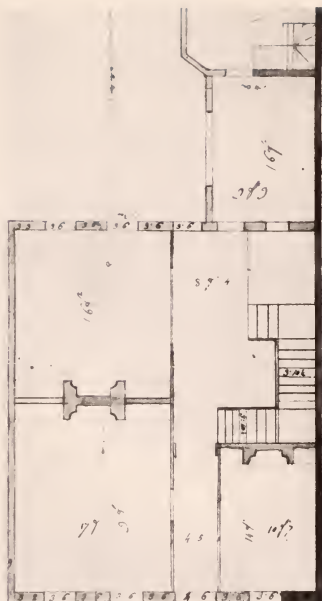


Fig. 4. This architectural draft for a town house, possibly by Samuel Rhoads, follows closely the arrangement and layout of the main ground-floor rooms of the Cadwalader town house, as recorded in Gunning Bedford's insurance survey of 1769. Norris of Fairhill Manuscripts, Miscellaneous file 71, Historical Society of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia

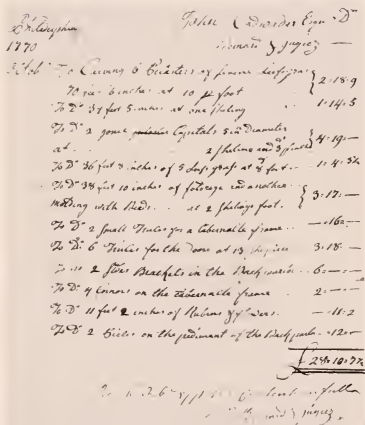


Fig. 5. Bill submitted to John Cadwalader by the carving firm of Bernard and Jugiez, 1770. Historical Society of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia



Fig. 6. Detail of a plaster ornament from the Samuel Powel House, c. 1770. Made in Philadelphia by James Clow (American, trained Scotland, active c. 1763–72). Philadelphia Museum of Art. Gift of George D. Widener, 1926–41–1

Both Samuel Powel and John Cadwalader were undertaking redecoration projects for their Philadelphia town houses in 1770 and commissioned many of the same craftsmen to execute the interior embellishments and to supply furniture. Although the Cadwalader house no longer survives, the Powel house still stands at 244 South Third Street.

additional £252 to the redecoration costs of the main rooms of the house. Randolph advertised his ability to supply “all Sorts of Cabinet & Chairwork, Likewise Carving, Gilding & c., Performed in the Chinese and Modern Tastes” from his shop “at the Golden Eagle in Chestnut Street, between third and fourth Streets,”⁹ and his bill for the house’s carved interiors gives an idea of the scope of his shop’s role in the project. Carved flowers, “leaf’d grass” designs, ribbons, “egg and tongue” moldings, and paneled moldings of the front parlor. Carved friezes with “folded flowers, birds, etc.” and “foliage, flowers, figures, etc.” decorated the downstairs parlors and the “front room upstairs.” The front parlor doorways were surmounted by “two dragons for the pediments,” which were themselves supported by carved “trusses” (brackets) with small flowers and “leaf’d grass” ornaments.⁸

While carvers working for Randolph supplied many of the decorations for these rooms, other craftsmen were also involved. In October 1770, the Philadelphia carving and gilding firm of Nicholas Bernard and Martin Jugiez billed Cadwalader a total of £28 10s. 7½d. for architectural carving that included two “small Troles” (consoles) and four corners for a tabernacle frame, six consoles for the door entablatures, two “Ionic Capitals” (brackets), two “Pieces on the pediment of the Back parlor,” and more than 190 feet of molding (see fig. 5). Credited with the earlier architectural carving at Mount Pleasant (c. 1764), Cliveden (c. 1766), and the Philadelphia town house of

Samuel Powel III (c. 1769), Bernard and Jugiez also supplied carved decoration for furniture to a number of the city’s cabinetmaking shops, including Benjamin Randolph’s.

Randolph may have also provided the connection that brought another prominent carver to the Cadwalader house. Before coming to Philadelphia in the early 1760s, Hercules Courtenay was apprenticed to the prominent London designer/craftsman Thomas Johnson. He then may have been indentured to Randolph (Randolph’s account book links the two), but by 1769 Courtenay had opened his own shop.⁹ His reputation and skill as a carver brought him many commissions for architectural carving and for carved work on furniture from several of the city’s leading cabinetmakers, and his firsthand knowledge of contemporary English style would surely have appealed to Cadwalader.

Courtenay’s carvings for the house decorated the two large parlors on the ground floor. His itemized bill of September 17, 1770, documents charges for “27 Books of Gold, laid on Cornice,” an ornamental device “with a Lyons head in it over chimney,” and two carved tablets—one an elaborate carved relief, “the Judgment of Hercules.”¹⁰ This allegorical subject, based on an earlier engraving by the French-born artist Simon Gribelin, was widely popular, and publications discussing it had been circulated in Philadelphia.¹¹ The carver also supplied floral and garland festoons, carved “shell and husk” and “Leaf Grass” moldings, and “Flowers for the knees of Front Room Argitrives” (architraves), suggesting that his work was among the most ornate supplied for the interiors.

The main rooms were also decorated with ornamental stucco and plasterwork ceilings by James Clow, a craftsman trained in Scotland and working in Philadelphia by 1763. Clow had earlier supplied the scroll, floral, and garland cornucopia ornaments for the ceiling of Samuel Powel (fig. 6), work Cadwalader would have had the occasion to admire during social visits. In October 1770, Clow billed Cadwalader £92 18s. 6d. for “the Ornament in Your two Rooms and the flower in [the] Passage.”¹²

To further embellish the house’s interior, Cadwalader had the painter and gilder Anthony DeNormandie gild 786 feet of papier-mâché borders, which had been purchased from and

installed by the shop of James Reynolds. These molded and raised paper borders, less expensive than carved wood, were meant to resemble carved patterns and were sold by a number of Philadelphia shops. Usually mounted above the chair rail, surrounding the window and door frames, and below the ceiling cornice, these decorative borders, once gilt, provided added richness and created a transitional band of ornament, linking a room's carved and paneled architectural elements with the painted or papered plaster walls. In that the two main ground-floor parlors of the Cadwalader house were fully paneled, these gilt borders were probably used in upper chambers and in the stairhall of the house. Reynolds later billed Cadwalader an additional £1 to, for "putting up the Borders in [the] Chamber."¹³

DeNormandie was also in charge of installing glass in the windows and painting the sashes, as well as preparing and painting the carved and paneled downstairs rooms, the banister and wainscot of the first flight of stairs, several doors in the entry, and the upper floors of the main house. The large front parlor was painted blue, the rear back parlor onto which it opened, yellow. Green decorated many of the upper chambers.¹⁴ This color scheme was continued in the rich upholsteries and window hangings later fabricated by Plunket Fleeson and John Webster.

Simultaneous with the work done to improve the interiors of the house and to upgrade its outbuildings, John and Elizabeth Cadwalader were commissioning and accumulating the necessary furniture, silver, and other domestic appointments that would augment and complete their impressive new home. Elizabeth's father, Edward Lloyd, had died on January 27, 1770. A number of furnishings that Elizabeth had received as part of her dowry or through this later inheritance were transported to Philadelphia to be used in the Second Street town house upon the couple's move in early 1771. Surviving receipts, together with an early inventory taken in January 1771, an inventory dated June 16, 1778, and delivered to Cadwalader's agent by the Hessian General Wilhelm von Knyphausen, who had been quartered in the Cadwalader house during the British occupation of Philadelphia (see Appendix), and a final inventory, taken shortly after John Cadwalader's death in 1786, provide the clearest suggestions as to what furnishings



Fig. 7. Coffeepot, 1763. Made in London by Thomas Whipple and Charles Wright (English, active as partners 1757–75). Silver, height 14 1/2" (36.8 cm). Philadelphia Museum of Art. Purchased with the John D. McIlhenny Fund, 1988–35-1

This silver coffeepot, engraved with the Lloyd coat of arms, is part of a larger group acquired by Edward Lloyd in 1763 and given to his daughter, Elizabeth, as part of her dowry upon her marriage to John Cadwalader in 1768.



Fig. 8. Finial of the Lloyd teapot (see fig. 7), and the original finial for one of the Cadwalader pole screens (see fig. 17), now lost. The decorative floral and scroll motifs of the silver service may have inspired the similar carved patterns on the Cadwalader furniture commissions of 1770–71.

were acquired by the couple and how they were used in the house.¹⁵

Noting that English craftsmen were no longer the sole suppliers of quality goods, Samuel Morris of Philadelphia observed in 1765 that "household goods may be had here as cheap and as well made from English patterns."¹⁶ John and Elizabeth Cadwalader supported the Nonimportation Agreement of 1768, patronizing the most talented of these domestic craftsmen. The couple seem to have purchased imported goods only when domestically produced luxuries of high quality were unavailable through local sources. Elizabeth's father had engaged the London agent Matthias Gale as his purchasing agent, and most of John and Elizabeth's subsequent purchases of imported goods for the house were handled

through this earlier family connection. In 1763, Gale had procured for Edward Lloyd a massive silver tea and coffee service from the London silversmiths Thomas Whipham and Charles Wright, which Lloyd later gave to Elizabeth as part of her dowry (see fig. 7). The ornate rococo decoration on the silver may have inspired the decorative carving on some of the Cadwaladers' later furniture commissions (see fig. 8). Early in 1771, the couple engaged Gale to secure through the London shops of Rushton & Beachcroft the best available silk damasks, fringes, trims, and other fabrics for the upholstery, bed, and window hangings. John Cadwalader also asked Gale to find carpets for the house: "I have inclosed you a plan of three rooms & beg you will be kind enough to get carpets made according to these plans of the best and most fashionable Wilton carpeting."¹⁷ Gale supplied these carpets in blue and yellow for the two main parlors. In addition, he also arranged for the couple's extensive purchases of various "china" as well as several silver objects from London sources.¹⁸ The couple also ordered silver from leading Philadelphia shops, including those of Philip Syng, Jr., Joseph Richardson, Jr., and John David.

In his efforts to create an elegantly coordinated and complete domestic setting, Cadwalader commissioned some of the same craftsmen that had decorated the house's interiors to produce the furniture that would fill them. The resulting ensemble, created by such leading cabinetmakers as Benjamin Randolph, Thomas Affleck, William Savery, and James Reynolds, represented the highest expression of the rococo interior in the American colonies. The large quantity of furniture commissioned and the relatively short period of time in which it was produced suggest an unusual level of cooperation among the different cabinetmaking shops and specialized craftsmen involved. The prestige of this commission and the exposure it provided for potentially lucrative future contracts may have helped facilitate and promote such cooperation and interaction among craftsmen normally in competition with each other.

While the numerous extant receipts and the surviving body of furniture together afford a remarkable picture of what was involved in creating the Cadwalader interiors, the identification and definite attribution of individual works within the suite to the specific artisans responsible for the work remains somewhat conjectural. Many of the billing records are incomplete or vague in their descriptive information identifying specific surviving furnishings. For instance, a payment to Benjamin Randolph, one of the leading cabinetmakers involved in the project, is recorded in Cadwalader's account book as simply "B. Randolph acct for furniture, £94.15."¹⁹ Similarly, although the cabinetmaker William Savery (1721/22–1787) supplied Cadwalader with an extensive list of furniture that included six rush-seated chairs, six leather-bottom chairs, twelve walnut chairs "Stuff'd & Canvas'd," a painted clothes press, and a walnut chest of drawers with fluted columns and swelled brackets, none of this furniture has been identified among the known surviving Cadwalader examples.²⁰ Physical comparison of the surviving examples of the Cadwaladers' suite of furniture reveals marked variations in the construction joinery and surface carving.²¹ These physical differences, given the number of master craftsmen, journeymen, apprentices, and specialized carvers working within the different shops that supplied the furniture, further complicate the process of attribution.

Fig. 9. Bill submitted to John Cadwalader by Thomas Affleck, cabinet-maker, 1770-71. Historical Society of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia

[illegible]



Fig. 10. Easy Chair, c. 1770–71. Made in Philadelphia, attributed to the workshop of Thomas Affleck (American, born Scotland, 1740–1795). Mahogany, yellow pine, white oak, white cedar, black walnut, and tulip poplar, modern upholstery, height 45" (114.3 cm). Collection of H. Richard Dietrich, Jr.



Fig. 11. Sacque Gown and Petticoat (back view), c. 1760, with later alterations. Made in America of French fabric. Silk cannellé brocade, center back length 69" (170 cm). Philadelphia Museum of Art. Gift of Thomas Francis Cadwalader, 1955–98–6a,b

This finely wrought silk gown, which descended in the Cadwalader family, hints at the luxurious fashions worn by Philadelphia's wealthier citizens in the latter half of the eighteenth century.

Fig. 12. Pair of Card Tables, c. 1770–71. Made in Philadelphia, attributed to the workshop of Thomas Affleck. Mahogany, pine, cedar, white oak, 28 ¼ x 39 ½ x 19 ¼" (73 x 101 x 50.2 cm). [Left] The Dietrich American Foundation, Philadelphia; [Right] Philadelphia Museum of Art. Purchased for the Cadwalader Collection with funds contributed by the Mabel Pew Myrnn Trust and the gift of an anonymous donor, 1984–6–1



Figs. 13–15. Elaborately carved ornaments decorate the skirt, edge, and legs of the card tables (details of fig. 12, right).



From the shop of Thomas Affleck (1740–1795), Cadwalader commissioned an ornate suite of parlor furniture, by far the most innovative and stylistically advanced pieces produced in the city during the period. Affleck, Scottish born, had apprenticed in Edinburgh (1754–56) and worked in London prior to his arrival in Philadelphia in 1763. Through lucrative Quaker connections, he quickly established a successful trade in the city, conducting his business from a large and thriving shop on Second Street.²²

Affleck's bill to Cadwalader (fig. 9) documents a number of pieces produced and deliv-

ered to the house between October 13, 1770, and January 14, 1771, at a cost of £119 8s. Additional charges totaling £61 4s. are noted for ornamental carving executed by James Reynolds (1740–1794) and by Nicholas Bernard and Martin Jugiez (partnership 1762–83). A related bill submitted by Plunket Fleeson, who upholstered much of the furniture for the parlors, lists additional furniture forms and suggests that there may have been an earlier invoice from Affleck, now lost, that may have documented other known surviving pieces from the suite, particularly a group of seven ornate saddle-seated side chairs.²³



Fig. 16. The feet of the card tables (fig. 12) exhibit differences in the execution of their carving.

Further analysis of the inventories and bills suggests that the furniture commissioned for the main parlors was envisioned as two distinct suites: the more ornately carved “commode” or serpentine-front furniture described on the Affleck bill was probably for the front parlor, and a slightly less embellished suite with straight seat frames was used in the rear parlor. Affleck’s bill helps document the most ornate furniture forms for the front parlor, noting “2 Mahogany Commode Sophias for the Recesses,” another large sofa and an easy chair en suite, two “commode” card tables, a mahogany harpsichord frame, and four

mahogany fire screens (pole screens). Of these pieces, only the easy chair, the pair of card tables, and the pole screens are known to survive. In addition, a group of seven side chairs, en suite in pattern and form to the easy chair and card tables but not listed on Affleck’s bill, also survive.²⁴

The surviving easy chair (fig. 10) gives the most direct impression of the likely forms, decoration, and upholstery of the missing sofas. Broad and deep in its proportions and elegant in stance, the easy chair utilizes traditional eighteenth-century joinery techniques in its frame. The carved serpentine-front seat rail and

Fig. 10. Pole Screen, c. 1770–71. Made in Philadelphia, attributed to the workshop of Thomas Affleck. Mahogany and white pine, 62¼ x 19 x 16" (158.1 x 48.3 x 40.6 cm), with an early eighteenth-century textile [not original], 22 x 19" (55.9 x 48.3 cm). Philadelphia Museum of Art. Gift of Mrs. Harry A. Batten in memory of her husband, 1967-266-1



straight side rails are sawn from solid pieces, with a relief pattern that corresponds to the surviving "commode" card tables and side chairs. Fleeson's bill documents upholstery charges for "finishing in canvas & making [a] case" (slipcover). Similar foundation upholsteries and cases in "fine Saxon blue Fr. Chk" (French check) with "blue & white fringe" are noted for the three sofa forms as well as seventy-six chairs.²⁵ From Rushton & Beachcroft in England, Matthias Gale ordered a large quantity of rich silk damask, both blue and yellow, which the upholsterer John Webster later used to make window hangings for the parlors and to cover three sofas and twenty chairs. A 1786 inventory of the house indicates that the blue upholsteries and hangings were used in the front parlor, while the yellow silk damask decorated the rear parlor. Philadelphia upholsterers also supplied rich, imported fabrics for personal clothing (see fig. 11).

Cadwalader's pair of serpentine-front card tables (fig. 12), while noticeably different from the easy chair and side chairs in the execution of their carved detail, possess the same scrolled knee carving, central asymmetrical skirt motif, and hairy-paw feet. Their folding tops, made from matched, richly grained mahogany, were finished with a delicately executed ribbon and flower carved edge (see figs. 13–15). Affleck's basic joinery, and the design and proportions of the different components making up the furniture's overall form, had to predict and allot enough volume and extra wood to allow the carvers to execute their surface embellishments. Their carved compositions included motifs that ran across the joints of the forms' individual parts, visually unifying the different structural elements. Differences in joinery, execution of carving, and overall proportion suggest that, while these tables were conceived and produced as a pair, they may be the product of two different groups of craftsmen or cabinet-making shops (see fig. 16).²⁶ Similar variations are also evident in the carving on the four surviving pole screens (see fig. 17) and the seven surviving side chairs from the most ornate suite (see fig. 18).²⁷

Although not *en suite* in pattern to the other extant Cadwalader furnishings, the large, ornately carved marble-top table (fig. 19) that descended in the family exhibits the same elegant refinement.²⁸ Cadwalader is known to have owned two such tables—the 1778



Fig. 18. Side Chair,
c. 1770–71. Made in
Philadelphia, attributed
to the workshop of
Thomas Affleck. Mahog-
any and white cedar,
modern upholstery,
36 $\frac{3}{4}$ x 21 $\frac{3}{4}$ x 18 $\frac{3}{4}$ "
(93.7 x 55.6 x 46.7 cm).
Philadelphia Museum of
Art. Gift of Robert L.
McNeil, Jr., 1991-74-1



Fig. 19. Slab Table,
c. 1770. Made in
Philadelphia. Mahogany,
white pine, and marble,
32 $\frac{3}{4}$ x 48 $\frac{3}{4}$ x 23 $\frac{1}{4}$ " (82.2 x
122.6 x 59.1 cm). The
Metropolitan Museum of
Art, New York. John
Stewart Kennedy Fund,
1918, 18.110.27

Fig. 20. Card Table,
c. 1770–71. Made in
Philadelphia, attributed
to the workshop of
Thomas Affleck. Mahog-
any, oak, and pine,
28 $\frac{3}{8}$ x 32 x 15 $\frac{1}{2}$ " (72.1 x
81.3 x 39.4 cm). Private
collection



Fig. 21. Side Chair,
c. 1770–71. Made in
Philadelphia, attributed
to the workshop of Thomas
Affleck. Mahogany and
unidentified conifers,
modern upholstery,
38 x 23 $\frac{3}{4}$ x 21 $\frac{1}{2}$ " (96.5 x
60.3 x 55.6 cm). The
Henry Francis du Pont
Winterthur Museum,
Delaware, 60.1066.3



Plunket Fleeson's 1770–71 bill for upholstery includes "fine Saxon blue Fr. Chk" (French check) slipcovers for three sofas and seventy-six chairs. Nailing patterns and other evidence on the chair frames help to document the form and shape of the original covers.

Knyphausen inventory lists two “marble plate” tables in the front parlor—although only one is known to survive. Tables with slab marble tops were quite popular in Philadelphia—both imported and domestically quarried stone was used—and tables with thick wooden slabs are also known to have been produced in the city. The Cadwalader table is certainly one of the most fully developed examples of the French influence in Philadelphia rococo furniture.

A slightly less ornate group of furnishings consisting of a pair of card tables and five side chairs is thought to be part of the suite Cadwalader commissioned for the rear parlor of his town house (see figs. 20, 21). Although these pieces have hairy-paw feet and cabriole legs, they differ from the more ornate, “com-mode” suite in their carved knee pattern and in the use of straight box frames with applied carved gadroon moldings. The back design of the chairs includes scroll-carved crest rails and a quatrefoil-shaped piercing near the base of the splat, a popular Gothic-inspired pattern often found in Philadelphia chairs of the period. Upholstered in the stylish, half-over-the-rail pattern, these chairs bear similar tacking evidence on their seat frames that suggests that they may have been among those noted on Plunket Fleeson’s itemized bill as having received canvas covers.²⁹

Between December 1770 and October 1771, Cadwalader purchased six looking glasses with ornately carved frames from the carver James Reynolds. Three of these were described in bills as “carv’d & burnish gold,” two as “party gold,” or parcel gilt, and one as being “in a Carv’d white frame.”³⁰ Only one of these mirrors is known to have survived (see fig. 22). The measurements of its glass, 35% by 18½ inches, are close to two of those noted on Reynolds’s bill.

Reynolds also documents his role in supplying a group of lavishly carved and gilt picture frames (see figs. 23, 24) that were intended to house a rich suite of family portraits commissioned by the Cadwaladers from the painter Charles Willson Peale. Two of the Peale portraits included details of the ornately carved parlor furniture, adding to the sense of harmony in the sumptuous room and further demonstrating John and Elizabeth Cadwalader’s understanding of and comfort with the latest rococo fashions.



Fig. 22. Looking Glass, c. 1770–71. Made in Philadelphia, attributed to the workshop of James Reynolds (American, born England, active 1766–94). Yellow pine, 55½ x 28" (141 x 71.1 cm) overall, 35% x 18½" (91.1 x 47 cm) glass. The Henry Francis du Pont Winterthur Museum, Delaware, 52.261 (pre-conservation photograph)

Comparison with related objects and microscopic surface analysis have confirmed that the original surface treatment of this looking glass was solid white. James Reynolds’s bills for looking glasses note one “carv’d white” and one “party gold” glass of similar size to this example, which descended in the Cadwalader family.



Fig. 23. Details of two picture frames attributed to the workshop of James Reynolds. The upper frame is for the Cadwalader group portrait by Charles Willson Peale (fig. 25); the lower frame is for a needlework sampler by Sarah Logan (fig. 24). Although the Cadwalader frame has been cut down, comparison with the similarly carved frame for the Logan sampler provides some indication of its former appearance.





Fig. 24. Picture Frame, c. 1770, attributed to the workshop of James Reynolds, with a needlework sampler by Sarah Logan (American, 1696–1754). Walnut, 14 x 12½" (35.6 x 31.8 cm). Private collection

Notes

1. Nicholas B. Wainwright, *Colonial Grandeur in Philadelphia: The House and Furniture of General John Cadwalader* (Philadelphia: Historical Society of Pennsylvania, 1964), p. 6.
2. John Cadwalader to Matthias Gale, October 1, 1769, Cadwalader Collection, Historical Society of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia.
3. The Cadwalader insurance survey is on file in the archives of the Philadelphia Contributionship. The Cadwalader town house was demolished by a subsequent owner, Stephen Girard, around 1816.
4. The Bedford insurance survey, reproduced in Wainwright 1964, p. 7, also notes that the lower story was decorated with "wainscot pedestal high, Tabernacle frame and Brest and modillion Cornish Round front parlor, Chimney Brest & plain dubble Cornish in Back parlor, doric frontispiece." It is unclear if any of this carving was retained by Cadwalader or if it was replaced.
5. Wainwright 1964, pp. 6–8.
6. Thomas Nevell (1721–1797) supervised the construction of Mount Pleasant, the country seat of John MacPherson, in 1762–63; he later worked on Carpenters' Hall and the State House (Independence Hall) and was one of the original subscribers in support of the publication of an American edition of Abraham Swan's *The British Architect* (London, 1745). Nevell's day book, covering the period from January 11, 1762, to August 16, 1782, is preserved in the Van Pelt Library Special Collections, University of Pennsylvania. Unfortunately, Nevell's accounts for his work for Cadwalader, other than those which survived in the family's hands, are unlocated.
7. Advertisement from the trade card of Benjamin Randolph, 1769, engraved by James Smither (American, born England, 1741–1797), The Library Company of Philadelphia.
8. For a complete transcription of Randolph's charges, see Wainwright 1964, p. 21.
9. For more on Courtenay, see Luke Beckerdite, "Philadelphia Carving Shops, Part III: Hercules Courtenay and His School," *The Magazine Antiques*, vol. 131, no. 5 (May 1987), pp. 1044–63.
10. Courtenay's bill is reproduced in Wainwright 1964, p. 12.
11. Wainwright 1964, p. 22.
12. Clow's bill is reproduced in *ibid.*, p. 25.
13. Reynolds's bill is reproduced in *ibid.*, p. 124.
14. Wainwright 1964, p. 30. DeNormandie's bill is reproduced in *ibid.*, p. 34. At the request of Cadwalader and DeNormandie, a third party was engaged to measure and assess the value of DeNormandie's work. These documents are reproduced in *ibid.*, p. 31.

15. Transcriptions of these documents appear in *ibid.*, pp. 52–57, 66–67, 72–73. The Knyphausen inventory is reprinted in the present publication as an Appendix on page 43.

16. Samuel Morris to Samuel Powel, May 18, 1765, Historical Society of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, quoted in William MacPherson Horner, Jr., *Blue Book Philadelphia Furniture: William Penn to George Washington, with Special Reference to the Philadelphia-Chippendale School* (Philadelphia, 1935), p. 81.

17. John Cadwalader to Matthias Gale, May 28, 1771, Cadwalader Collection, quoted in Wainwright 1964, p. 50.

18. Cadwalader purchased domestically produced ceramics when possible. For instance, he supported the efforts of Gouse Bonnin (c. 1741–1780) and George Morris (c. 1742–1773) of Philadelphia, and purchased wares from the American China Manufactory in Southwark, the region just south of Philadelphia. Bonnin and Morris produced the first successful American copies based on Bow, Worcester, and other blue-and-white decorated English prototypes. For more on Gale's activities for the couple, see the Gale File in the Cadwalader Collection, Historical Society of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia.

19. Waste Book, October 10, 1769, Cadwalader Collection, quoted in Wainwright 1964, p. 38.

20. Savery's bill is reproduced in Wainwright 1964, p. 49.

21. Similar degrees of variation in carving and construction are seen within other known suites of Philadelphia rococo furniture and suggest multiple hands in their execution. For a comprehensive, comparative, analytical report examining finish histories, physical carving characteristics, precise measurements, joining details, and upholstery evidence in all the known surviving Cadwalader suite examples, see Mark J. Anderson, Gregory J. Landrey, and Philip D. Zimmerman, *Cadwalader Study* (Winterthur, Del.: The Henry Francis du Pont Winterthur Museum, 1995).

22. See *Philadelphia: Three Centuries of American Art*, exh. cat. (Philadelphia: Philadelphia Museum of Art, 1976), pp. 98–99.

23. See Morrison H. Heckscher and Leslie Greene Bowman, *American Rococo, 1750–1775: Elegance in Ornament*, exh. cat. (New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1992), p. 214. Fleeson's bill is reproduced in Wainwright 1964, pp. 40–41.

24. While the sofa forms from the Cadwalader commission are lost, one similar sofa with an ornately carved seat frame and hairy-paw feet is in the collections of Independence National Historical Park, Philadelphia. Other examples of Philadelphia rococo furniture with hairy-paw feet include an easy chair with carved serpentine seat rails, attributed to Benjamin Randolph (Philadelphia Museum of Art); a tea table (sold Christie's, January 1996, private collection); a carved serpentine-front pier table (Philadelphia Museum of Art); and three additional pole screens matching the four

documented Cadwalader examples. See Anderson, Landrey, and Zimmerman 1995.

25. See Heckscher and Bowman 1992, p. 214. This pattern of decorative check slipcovers, used to protect fine primary upholsteries such as silk damask, was stylish and common in Philadelphia domestic interiors of the period. Recent important research by Mark Anderson and the conservation department at the Henry Francis du Pont Winterthur Museum has documented new findings on the nature and pattern of these slipcovers.

26. For an in-depth analysis of these tables, see Anderson, Landrey, and Zimmerman 1995, pp. 13–17.

27. *Ibid.*, pp. 8–12, 24–31.

28. See Heckscher and Bowman 1992, pp. 191–92; Wainwright 1964, p. 122. Cadwalader's waste book for October 10, 1769, indicates payments for furniture provided by "B. Randolph," as well as two "marble Slabs etc" purchased from "C. Coxe," a neighbor. The "slabs" were likely marble-top tables for which Cadwalader had new frames made. The configuration of the entries in Cadwalader's waste book and the surviving table's visual relationship to other carved examples thought to be from the shop of Benjamin Randolph suggest that the table may be the work of a carver in Randolph's employ. The table's construction, however, is somewhat atypical in comparison to other known Philadelphia examples, and suggests the work of a carver working independent of a traditional joiner's or cabinetmaker's influence.

29. See Anderson, Landrey, and Zimmerman 1995, pp. 18–20. The carving of the hairy-paw feet on this group is clearly interrelated and similar to that found on one of the "commode" or serpentine-front card tables.

30. Reynolds's bills are reproduced in Wainwright 1964, pp. 46, 124.



Even more than the gilded moldings that embellished John and Elizabeth Cadwalader's new home, or the large set of elaborately carved furniture that filled it, the five portraits commissioned by the Cadwaladers from Charles Willson Peale for display on the walls of their front parlor were the decorative elements that created a domestic interior truly unequaled in style and character in the American colonies. Portraits were the ultimate symbol of wealth and status in pre-Revolutionary America—intangible luxuries in comparison to functional items such as furniture and silver—but they served also as important documents of family order and continuity.¹ Painted just as John and Elizabeth Cadwalader were installing themselves in their new house and launching into Philadelphia society, this group of portraits situated the couple and their infant daughter (fig. 25) within the family context of John's parents (figs. 27, 28) and his unmarried brother and sister (figs. 29, 30), reminding all who saw them that this fortunate young couple had taken the lead in continuing the family line.

Portraits were relatively rare in eighteenth-century America; orders for one or two single figures were the norm. Thus, the five large portraits commissioned by the Cadwaladers would be noteworthy for their number alone (only the six portraits commissioned by Nicholas Boylston from John Singleton Copley in 1767 match them for style and ambition). But the commission is unusual, too, in that the portraits were planned as an integrated element of the decorative scheme almost from the beginning.

Charles Willson Peale first visited the Cadwaladers in the summer of 1770, when he came to Philadelphia to paint miniatures of John and Elizabeth Lloyd Cadwalader. The beautifully painted, very formal portrait miniature of Elizabeth Cadwalader (fig. 26), which shows Peale's mastery of the English style of miniature painting, was his first work for them. The five large wall panels of the main parlor, trimmed with moldings carved by Benjamin Randolph, were being completed at about that time and may have been planned to hold paintings from the beginning, with the number and format of the paintings determined by the size of the panels.² Besides the portraits, the Cadwaladers ordered two landscape paintings from Peale; no doubt these were intended to be installed in the traditional way, set into

paneling over the fireplaces in the ground-floor reception rooms. Peale's works would thus have occupied three walls of the front parlor, the fourth containing two large windows. The images of individual personality and family harmony presented in the paintings also modified the inanimate grandeur of the furnishings, humanizing them and creating an image of the family that was new and distinctly modern. To the brilliance of the rococo decor the Cadwalader portraits brought a note of relaxed informality, embodying the concept of "ease"—unselfconscious, gracious, and self-confident behavior—that was the new goal for the manners of late eighteenth-century upper-class society in England and its colonies.

Unlike the decoration and furnishings, which can be reconstructed from extant bills, the exact nature of the commission and the history of the production of the paintings is not clearly documented.³ Cadwalader's account book for 1770 lists a credit to Peale of £110, which would have paid generously for the miniatures, the four portraits at £12 12s each, a group portrait of John Cadwalader and his wife (their daughter Anne was born in 1771), and for the landscapes. Peale must have finished three of the portraits by the time that frames were ordered from James Reynolds, whose bill to John Cadwalader for these and other decorative carvings is dated March 15, 1771. However, in a letter to Cadwalader dated March 22, 1771, Peale confessed defeat in his effort to produce the landscapes and suggested that Cadwalader order them from England, as was the custom.⁴

That the Cadwaladers, whose tastes were sophisticated and who could afford any artist they wanted, selected Peale, a relatively untried artist recently returned from study in England and at that time living in his native Maryland, is indicative of the relationship between the artist and his patrons, and of the image that the Cadwaladers strove to achieve. And their order may well have been more than an isolated business arrangement. They may have intended to further the career of a promising artist by sponsoring him in the traditional sense of the term,⁵ setting a new artistic standard in their own home by example, and bringing Philadelphia, which did not have a first-rate painter in residence at the time, a desirable civic asset—perhaps in direct competition with Boston—

Fig. 25. Charles Willson Peale (American, 1741–1827). *Portrait of John and Elizabeth Lloyd Cadwalader and Their Daughter Anne*, 1772. Oil on canvas, 51 1/2 x 41 1/4" (130.8 x 104.8 cm). Philadelphia Museum of Art. Purchased for the Cadwalader Collection with funds contributed by the Mabel Pew Myrin Trust and the gift of an anonymous donor, 1983–90-3



Fig. 26. Charles Willson Peale. *Miniature Portrait of Elizabeth Lloyd Cadwalader*, 1770. Watercolor on ivory, height 2 3/8" (5.4 cm). Private collection

Fig. 27. Charles Willson Peale, *Portrait of Dr. Thomas Cadwalader*, c. 1772. Oil on canvas, 50 x 40" (127 x 101.6 cm). Philadelphia Museum of Art. Purchased for the Cadwalader Collection with funds contributed by the Mabel Pew Myrin Trust and the gift of an anonymous donor, 1983-90-1

thereby promoting their own reputation as leading patrons of the arts.

Through his marriage to Elizabeth Lloyd, the daughter of a wealthy Maryland plantation owner whose cousin, Robert Lloyd, had been one of the sponsors of Peale's study trip to England, and through his friendship with John Beale Bordley, a lifelong friend of Peale's and another of his sponsors, John Cadwalader joined the network of wealthy Maryland landowners who had supported Peale's career from the beginning, paying for his journey to study with Benjamin West in London from 1767 through the spring of 1769, and commissioning portraits after he returned. "No other budding student of art in colonial America received the same broad-based, generous patronage prior to 1790."⁶ Among themselves, Elizabeth and John Cadwalader and Elizabeth's brothers, Edward Lloyd (1744-1796) and Richard Bennett Lloyd (1750-1787), commissioned sixteen paintings from Peale, and with

"nine commissions, all occurring within a space of three years," the Cadwaladers "provided Peale with more orders than any other individual except John Beale Bordley."⁷

For his part, Peale was attracted to Philadelphia by the need to find a bigger market for his work than he had in Maryland. From mid-1770, the time of his first recorded post-English stay in Philadelphia, Peale's letters show him judging his visits in terms of his success in obtaining local patronage. In the summer of 1772, after the Cadwalader paintings were finished, he reported to John Beale Bordley that he was "once more making a Tryal how far the Arts will be favoured in this City." He held an exhibition in his studio, with the newly finished group portrait of John, Elizabeth, and Anne as its centerpiece, and distributed flyers to attract visitors.⁸ Peale enjoyed increasingly more Philadelphia commissions from this time on, and eventually moved his family to Philadelphia in 1776.

Personal connections brought Peale to the Cadwaladers' attention, but no doubt it was the artist's training that caused them to admire his work. Just back from study in London, Peale was the American artist most up-to-date in the latest fashions in British portraiture, and for the Cadwaladers as for other wealthy Americans, even at a time of political unrest and periodic boycott of British goods, England set the standard for style and taste.⁹ Like the recently immigrated carvers and other craftsmen who worked on the Cadwalader house, Peale represented the sophistication of contact with English style, a quality that John Cadwalader especially would have appreciated as the result of his grand tour of England and the Continent in the early 1760s.

A commission the size of the Cadwaladers' certainly would have tempted any colonial artist, including Boston's John Singleton Copley (1738-1815), who by 1770 was the most celebrated painter in the colonies. Local patrons had kept him busy for most of the twelve years that he had been working as an artist, but a slump in business caused by the political and financial unrest of the times led him to make a six-month portrait-painting foray to New York in 1771, and he briefly visited Philadelphia in November of that year. A commission for five portraits might well have lured him to Philadelphia, yet in spite of his brilliant technical abilities, Copley had



never been to Europe, a lack he felt keenly. Whether or not the Cadwaladers actually had seen his work, they may have judged him as inevitably provincial and old-fashioned without training in London.

Copley and Peale had known of each other since Peale's visit to Copley's studio during his visit to Boston in 1765, and while studying with West in London, Peale saw the paintings *Boy with a Squirrel* and *Young Lady with a Bird and Dog*, which Copley had sent for the Society of Artists exhibitions of 1766 and 1767.¹⁰ With his study in London behind him, Peale may have felt fully able to compete with Copley. After Peale's return, the two artists clearly considered each other as rivals. Jules David Prown suggests that the double portraits Copley painted in the early 1770s, such as the *Portrait of Mr. and Mrs. Thomas Mifflin* (fig. 31), were made in response to the challenge of Peale's group portraits, such as his portrait of the Cadwalader family.¹¹

The Cadwalader commission was the most important of Peale's career up to this point, and no doubt he understood its significance for his future in Philadelphia. Assuming that the subjects for the Cadwalader portraits were set at the beginning and that the number of wall panels determined the number of canvases, Peale could plan the commission as a whole. He chose to paint his subjects in a variety of portrait styles, perhaps using the opportunity to demonstrate the range he could offer to future patrons from different religious, political, and economic groups.

The five portraits can be grouped as two pairs and a single painting. John Cadwalader's parents, Dr. Thomas and Hannah Lambert Cadwalader, are shown seated, in traditional poses, dress, and settings that Peale probably considered appropriate to their age and Quaker simplicity. In the second pairing, Martha and Lambert Cadwalader each stand, in costumes and poses that represent the latest British fashions and attitude. The two pairs of single figures, inflected toward each other, are balanced with the two men on the left looking directly out of the painting at the viewer, while the women gaze off into the distance to the left. The two sets of paintings are further linked by repetition of objects and details of their setting.

The double portrait of John and Elizabeth Cadwalader, which was delayed to include their baby daughter Anne, born in 1771, clearly



was intended to be the centerpiece of the group. It exemplifies a third portrait type that was still a novelty in the American colonies at the time, called a conversation piece, in which two or more figures are shown in surroundings characteristic of them and are unified compositionally and psychologically by some kind of interaction. Most portraits in the American colonies were of single figures, and until Peale introduced them as a standard part of his repertoire, group portraits were rare.

The portraits of Dr. Thomas and Hannah Lambert Cadwalader have many similarities to examples of more conservative portraiture that Peale could have seen on his visit to Copley's studio in Boston in 1765, or to works by older artists such as John Wollaston or John Hesselius that he might have known in Annapolis or Philadelphia. In any case, a figure seated at a table, with a drape or a window behind was a long-standing portrait tradition.

Fig. 28. Charles Willson Peale, *Portrait of Hannah Lambert Cadwalader*, c. 1772. Oil on canvas, 50 x 40" (127 x 101.6 cm). Philadelphia Museum of Art. Purchased for the Cadwalader Collection with funds contributed by the Mabel Pew Myrin Trust and the gift of an anonymous donor, 1983-90-2



Fig. 29. Charles Willson Peale, *Portrait of Colonel Lambert Cadwalader*, c. 1772. Oil on canvas, 50 x 40" (127 x 101.6 cm). Philadelphia Museum of Art. Purchased for the Cadwalader Collection with funds contributed by the Mabel Pew Myrnn Trust and the gift of an anonymous donor, 1983-90-4

This arrangement of the figure, combined with the elder Cadwaladers' plain Quaker dress may have been Peale's attempt to please the conservative Quaker audience, which he considered important for his success in Philadelphia.¹²

Peale's *Portrait of Dr. Thomas Cadwalader* (fig. 27) is the least ostentatious of all. Dr. Cadwalader's unadorned black suit and full-bottomed wig (typically worn by physicians) are old-fashioned, and the setting and furnishings of the portrait are notably spare and unspecific in comparison to the other portraits. There is no title on the book he holds that would identify his profession, although no doubt it refers to an interest in books and learning in general. Dr. Cadwalader had been one of the original board members and contributors to the Library Company of Philadelphia, founded by Benjamin Franklin in 1731, and his donation of £500 established the Trenton Library in 1750. The construction, design, and the wood of the table beside which

Dr. Cadwalader sits are concealed by a green baize cover. The chair also is mostly hidden. Even the pattern of the swag of damask behind him appears generalized. Only the small round box on the table beside him, which is matched by a similar box in his wife's portrait, directly relates the painting to the other portraits.

Dr. Cadwalader's erect, balanced posture, with legs spread and feet planted on the floor, and the alert turn of his body, which suggests a man interrupted while reading, have a vivid narrative quality that Peale may have borrowed from Copley or adapted from contemporary English portraits. Deliberately opposed to the grandeur and remoteness sought in earlier high-style portraiture, it brings a vitality to the traditional pose that makes it harmonize with the other portraits.

Peale's *Portrait of Hannah Lambert Cadwalader* (fig. 28) is based even more directly on Copley's example. A woman seated beside a table is a traditional pose, but the device of placing the sitter behind the table with her hands on it is unusual, and appears in a few of Copley's female portraits from around 1765 (see fig. 32). Emphasis on the material qualities of objects in the portrait—the shiny satin of Hannah Cadwalader's dress, reflections of fruit in the table's polished surface, and the general solidity and tangibility of all the forms—also suggest that Peale is trying to equal Copley's skill.

Although she sits erect and gazes into the distance, Hannah Cadwalader leans her hands and arms on the table and holds a large, thick white napkin or towel, which Peale has painted in stiff, angular folds. It is too big and thick to be an accessory of her costume, which though unornamented, is made of rich materials. The position of Mrs. Cadwalader's hands and the white napkin draw attention to the still life of objects before her, comprised of a round box similar to the one in Dr. Cadwalader's portrait, two bunches of grapes, and two apples, all isolated on the reflecting surface of the table. Placed side by side like botanical specimens, the apples are distinctly different varieties, and the careful differentiation between them and their precise arrangement suggest that these fruits have a specific connection to the sitter. Beyond the more generalized symbolism of fruit as emblematic of wifely skills of industriousness or nurturing, or of fecundity, which were traditional in paintings at the time, these fruits may symbolize the produce of Mrs. Cadwalader's

New Jersey farms or her skills as a gardener. The specificity of these pieces of fruit is even more obvious when they are compared to the pile of peaches, a pear, a melon, and an apple in the *Portrait of Martha Cadwalader Dagworthy* (fig. 30).

The landscape of mown fields with trees and a river, visible through the window behind Mrs. Cadwalader, may also represent the large tracts of New Jersey land that the young Hannah Lambert brought to her marriage to Dr. Cadwalader in 1738. In the midst of the luxurious surroundings of the new house, largely paid for by Elizabeth Lloyd's inheritance, the landscape in Hannah Cadwalader's portrait is likely a subtle reference to another source of the family's wealth, brought as a dowry by the preceding generation.

Other aspects of the portrait are noteworthy as well. The chair in which Mrs. Cadwalader sits, although it has not been identified as part of the Cadwalader furniture, and dates stylistically from the mid-1750s through the early 1760s, is as specifically detailed as John and Elizabeth Cadwalader's chair and card table, which are shown in the other portraits, suggesting that this too was an actual piece of furniture belonging to the family.

In contrast to the paintings of their parents, the portraits of Lambert and Martha Cadwalader (later Mrs. John Dagworthy) are ambitiously stylish. Representing poses and costume that would have been known only through prints in Philadelphia at the time, the paintings undoubtedly are based on examples that Peale could have seen in London. Repetition of the same tone of blue in the garments of brother and sister unify the portraits as a pair.

The *Portrait of Martha Cadwalader Dagworthy* (fig. 30), modeled upon high-style English portraiture, no doubt appeared incongruous in its colonial context. She wears a loosely fitting dress that crosses in front, with a sash at the waist and a robe with fur trim. Such a costume, unconstructed in comparison to the dresses worn by Elizabeth and Hannah Cadwalader, and worn without a corset, would have been unlikely garb for daily life in Philadelphia. It is modeled after the fanciful dress used by Joshua Reynolds and his English contemporaries to portray aristocratic women in a "grand style" that transcended the trivial details of actual costume and setting, alluding instead to the timeless verities of ancient art and

mythology (see fig. 33).¹³ Incorporating elements of a loose bed gown and a fur-trimmed coronation robe with voluminous sleeves, it was intended to suggest the drapery seen on classical statues. Martha Cadwalader's unloosed hair, with a tress falling over her shoulder, also conforms to this style, as does the round plinth with decorative motifs from antique architecture, upon which she leans.

The pose and setting of Martha Cadwalader's portrait might have been copied from a print—a common practice for colonial portraitists, though one seldom used by Peale—but it seems more likely that the artist was reconstructing from memory an example he had seen during his stay in England. Specific costume details such as the touches of lace at Martha's breast, her pearl choker, and the black cord dangling around her neck (which seems to have been a fad in Philadelphia in the early 1770s; several other of Peale's portraits from the

Fig. 30. Charles Willson Peale, *Portrait of Martha Cadwalader Dagworthy*, c. 1772. Oil on canvas, 50 x 40" (127 x 101.6 cm). Philadelphia Museum of Art. Purchased for the Cadwalader Collection with funds contributed by the Mabel Pew Myrnn Trust and the gift of an anonymous donor, 1980-135-1





Fig. 31. John Singleton Copley (American, 1738–1815), *Portrait of Mr. and Mrs. Thomas Mifflin (Sarah Morris)*, 1771. Oil on ticking, 60½ x 48" (153.7 x 121.9 cm). Historical Society of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia



Fig. 32. John Singleton Copley, *Portrait of Mrs. Theodore Atkinson, Jr. (Frances Deering Wentworth)*, 1765. Oil on canvas, 51 x 40" (129.5 x 101.6 cm). The New York Public Library, Astor, Lenox and Tilden Foundations

same period show young women wearing them) strike a provincial note; the point of Reynolds's neoclassical dress was to create an effect of timelessness, and his sitters were rarely shown wearing jewelry or any adornment other than pearls or flowers casually twined in the hair. The unlikely combination of an ox skull, a swag of flowers, and a lyre, which decorate the plinth, and the abundant still life of peaches, a melon, apples, and pears that sits upon it also contrast with "the simplicity of the antique air and attitude" that Reynolds aimed for,¹⁴ further suggesting that Peale was working from memory instead of from a single printed source.

Conceptually, the portrait of Martha Cadwalader is the least related visually to the real space of the Cadwalader house and to the treatment of the other portraits. The intellectualizing nature of Reynolds's grand style, and its aim of creating an art deliberately without reference to a specific time and place were completely at odds with the more factual requirements of an American family portrait, and would have been unsuitable for the group portrait of John, Elizabeth, and Anne Cadwalader. It is significant that it is Martha rather than the Cadwalader family who is shown in antique costume, thereby confirming the family's educated taste without putting the central figures in fancy dress. Peale did not use this pose and costume for female portraits often, and never after the first few years following his return from England. However, as a demonstration of his range of portrait styles, it presents an alternative to Hannah Lambert Cadwalader's cap and unornamented satin dress and to Elizabeth Lloyd Cadwalader's richly fashionable gown and elaborately arranged and powdered hair.

There was no male equivalent in English portraiture to the invented costume worn by Martha; Lambert Cadwalader is shown in what could have been his actual clothes (fig. 29). His blue frock suit has embroidered buttons and a sleek, silk plush lining that is carried throughout the suit, showing a thin edging of white around the pockets and cuffs, but otherwise it is unornamented. This lack of decoration—the same deliberate eschewal of ornament in favor of simplicity that inspired Martha's classical draperies—and the snug fit, which emphasizes the physical bulk admired at the time as a sign of prosperity, are newly stylish, even dandified. By contrast, John Cadwalader's gold-

embroidered waistcoat and lace trimmings would have been the standard for elegant male dress in Philadelphia. In keeping with the informality of his garments, Lambert wears his own hair arranged and powdered instead of wearing a wig.

Behind Lambert are both an oval landscape painting in a gold frame, which relates compositionally to the oval window in his sister's portrait, and a landscape view through a window, echoing the one in the portrait of Hannah Lambert Cadwalader. Perhaps the similarity of these landscapes signifies Lambert Cadwalader's assumption of responsibility for a portion of his mother's property in New Jersey, at the same time that John Cadwalader was beginning to manage Elizabeth Lloyd Cadwalader's Maryland plantations. Lambert purchased a portion of these lands in 1776, and lived on the estate, which he named "Greenwood," until the end of his life. Lambert's portrait, like that of his brother's family, is also related specifically to the Cadwaladers' parlor by Peale's depiction of a piece of furniture that was made for it: the chair on which he leans is an exact representation of one of the Cadwalader parlor chairs (see fig. 18).

With his left hand on his hip and his right hand resting on the chair, Lambert stands in a pose that had been employed in England since the 1740s to convey the image of nonchalant authority desired by an eighteenth-century gentleman. Like the references to antique sculpture in Martha's portrait, this pose also has classical prototypes that were intended to be appreciated by the knowledgeable viewer.

At about the same time that he was making Lambert's portrait, Peale painted Elizabeth Cadwalader's brother, Richard Bennett Lloyd (fig. 34), using essentially the same pose. Comparison of the two paintings shows Peale's ability to modify essentially the same compositional formula to create entirely different effects of personality and, in Lambert's portrait, to suit the requirements of the setting. Richard Lloyd stands outdoors in a landscape, with a view of a rocky shore behind him, and looks off into the distance, indifferently allowing himself to be observed. His suit is delicately but extensively embroidered, and he wears a sword, unmistakable as a symbol of aristocracy when worn with attire that is not a uniform. The formal elegance and remote personality conveyed by the portrait of Richard Lloyd stands in marked

contrast to Lambert's candid gaze and the alert self-confidence and good nature of his expression. Such clear confrontation with a vigorous personality, related to the real space of the room in which the painting would hang, unites Lambert's portrait with the spirit of the other Cadwalader portraits. Although he stands still, an effect of spontaneity and arrested movement is created by making the traditional pose not languid and formal, but a mere pause, as if Lambert were turning his attention to us before taking up the hat behind him on the table and walking out the door.

When Peale showed his *Portrait of John and Elizabeth Lloyd Cadwalader and Their Daughter Anne* (fig. 25) at his private exhibition in 1772, it must have been a revelation. Nothing like it had ever been seen in Philadelphia, except possibly in prints of English paintings. Peale had given the typical English conversation group an unusually strong narrative content by the psychological and physical interaction of the figures and their arrangement within the confines of the vertical format. John Cadwalader has just entered the room from outside, still carrying his hat and walking stick. He offers his daughter Anne a pair of peaches, which hold her attention as she reaches for them. Elizabeth Cadwalader looks at her husband with an affectionate smile while she steadies her young daughter on one of the two elaborately carved card tables that had been made for the parlor (see fig. 12).

To document the Cadwaladers' wealth and taste, Peale has made this the most meticulously and extensively detailed of all five paintings. He has carefully painted a complete inventory of their dress, from their elaborately arranged and powdered hair—not failing to note a white crescent of powder on the rim of John Cadwalader's hat—to the luxurious fabrics and complicated construction of their clothing: even their infant daughter wears a dress of pink silk covered by sheer embroidered muslin. Accessories such as Elizabeth Cadwalader's ivory fan and the gold fob of seals that John Cadwalader wears at his waist are completely defined, and while artists often fabricated costumes and accessories for their sitters during this period, Elizabeth Cadwalader's earring is so ostentatious, and such large stones were so rare in the colonies, that it is difficult to imagine that she would have agreed to be shown wearing it unless it were her own. Like the card

table, which is one of the actual furnishings of the room, it is a distinguishing object that confirms that everything in the painting actually belongs to the inhabitants. In the same way, the plain background emphasizes that the image on the canvas does not represent a separate, imaginary space, but rather a continuation of the room in which it is placed.

Peale's portrait of the Cadwalader family is more dramatic than most other examples of the genre. While it is fully developed as an assertion of wealth and social self-confidence, it is the work's emotional content that makes it unique in American colonial painting up to this time. Beyond its newness as a portrait type that incorporates a variety of innovative compositional and narrative devices, Peale's painting is more fundamentally "modern" in that it is one of the first American works to represent the social changes that occurred in the institutions of marriage and the family in Europe in the mid-1700s.¹⁵ John Cadwalader still takes the husband's traditionally dominant posture of standing while his wife and child sit, but in keeping with new conceptions of the husband's partnership in family life, he is turned sideways toward them, as he concentrates on watching his young daughter's reaction to his gift. At the same time, in accord with changing ideas about the importance of the wife as guardian of domestic harmony and virtue, Elizabeth Cadwalader is given a central place in the composition, literally holding the family group together as she gazes at her husband and supports her infant daughter, who is perched on the card table. Young Anne Cadwalader is depicted as a modern child who shows a natural and endearing concentration and physical expressiveness as she plays an important role in the little domestic drama. The narrative of the painting is propelled by the warmth of family feeling that infuses it; it is one of the first American works to show the change that occurred around 1760, reflecting "a new acceptability of public demonstrations of private affection."¹⁶ John David Prown has suggested that Peale learned in West's studio to use such compositional devices as the exchange of significant glances, gestures, and facial expressions to create narratives in his paintings, and that the subjective, warmly affectionate tone of Peale's group portraits could have been inspired by the work of artists such as Francis Cotes, as opposed to the cooler, more dispassionate



Fig. 33. Sir Joshua Reynolds (English, 1723–1792), *Portrait of Elizabeth Gunning, Duchess of Hamilton and Argyll*, c. 1760. Oil on canvas, 93 $\frac{3}{4}$ x 58 $\frac{1}{4}$ " (238.5 x 147.5 cm). Lady Lever Art Gallery, Port Sunlight, England



Fig. 34. Charles Willson Peale, *Portrait of Richard Bennett Lloyd*, 1771. Oil on canvas, 48 x 36 $\frac{1}{4}$ " (121.9 x 91.8 cm). The Henry Francis du Pont Winterthur Museum, Delaware. Gift of H. F. du Pont, 62.0590A

Fig. 35. Charles Willson Peale, *Portrait of the Edward Lloyd Family*, 1771. Oil on canvas, 48 x 57½" (121.9 x 146.1 cm). The Henry Francis du Pont Winterthur Museum, Delaware, 64.0124A



interpretations of West or Reynolds.¹⁷ This conception of the family and emotional depiction of family life were, in any case, entirely in keeping with Peale's own views.

The vivacity and depth of emotion in the painting are further emphasized when the work is compared to Peale's portrait of Elizabeth Cadwalader's brother, Edward Lloyd, with his wife Elizabeth and their young daughter, also named Anne (fig. 35), painted a year earlier. In his list of paintings, Peale referred to the Lloyd family portrait as a "conversation,"¹⁸ and it has been called "one of the most successful and most 'English' group portraits" by Peale.¹⁹ At the time the portrait was painted, in the late spring or early summer of 1771, the Lloyds were building a large house in Annapolis, and the two newly married couples may have been competing in the decoration of their homes; at any rate, they certainly were aware of each other's plans for decorating and furnishing their houses. Although the picture was intended for their town house, the Lloyds are depicted not as city dwellers but in a country setting, a reference to Edward Lloyd's vast family land holdings. The house behind them is not an actual building but the artist's adaptation of an engraving in an English architectural book.²⁰ Edward Lloyd leans affectionately toward his wife and daughter, supporting the young child with his arm around her waist and gently offering his hand for her to grasp. Elizabeth Lloyd's musical accomplishments are symbolized by the lute that she strums. Yet in spite of the proximity of the sitters, the composition and the narrative that unites them are much less insistent than in the Cadwalader portrait, and in this, much closer to the typical English conversation group. The Lloyds appear less stiff, more

informally grouped, and closer emotionally than in earlier American portraits, but as Edward and Anne Lloyd look out at the viewer while Elizabeth gazes into the distance, they remain as separate individuals who are posed for a formal portrait. The work lacks the strong compositional and emotional unity of the portrait of the Cadwalader family. In that painting, the need to compress the three figures in the vertical format forced Peale to invent compositional devices that intensify the rapport between the three subjects to a degree unmatched in his other work, including portraits of his own family.

Today, the five Cadwalader portraits are installed at the Philadelphia Museum of Art in a room from the Powel House in Philadelphia, which was contemporary with the Cadwaladers' and was decorated in a similar if not quite so elaborate style. That installation conveys some idea of how the paintings looked in their original setting, but because the rooms had different plans, the impact of the paintings in the Powel room is quite different from their installation in the Cadwalader house.

According to the accepted reconstruction of the Cadwaladers' front parlor (see fig. 4), the room was entered from the hall by a central doorway flanked by two panels; opposite this entrance was a windowless long wall with three panels. One end wall had two windows facing the street, and on the other was the fireplace flanked by two doors.²¹ Hung against the five panels on the two long walls, the paintings would have constituted a final layer of surface enrichment to the room. Continuing the airy rococo carvings of the gilded pier glass hanging between the windows, the picture frames carried the filigree of flickering gold all around the room, and the canvases covered the walls with large areas of decorative color. Simply in terms of their contribution to the overall decorative scheme, the paintings supplied a final stroke of elaboration. If one imagines the room with all of its carved and gilded decorations, crowded with richly carved furniture upholstered in blue damask, a blue Wilton carpet, and glittering fixtures of glass, silver, and brass, the effect must have been as magnificent and impressive as its owners had envisioned.

Yet, while contributing to the grandeur of the room, the paintings modified the effect in ways that also were intended by the Cadwaladers and Peale. It is not known which



of the two pairs of single figures hung on either side of the entrance door and which were placed on the three-paneled wall. It is almost certain, however, that the group portrait of John, Elizabeth, and Anne Cadwalader was placed in the center of the long wall, facing visitors as they entered the room and establishing beyond a doubt that they were the owners of the house and creators of the splendid room in which the viewer stood.

When Nicholas Boylston commissioned John Singleton Copley to paint the six portraits of himself (fig. 36), his mother (fig. 37), his brother, and each of his three sisters (fig. 38), he also may have intended to display the works together, in two sets of matching frames, in his house in Boston.²² Swathed in voluminous folds of satin and damask, painted in saturated, strong colors, and set against grand swags and columns, the Boylstons all look out of their canvases directly at the viewer. Considering the portraits as a group, their uniformity of style and attitude creates an effect of impregnable family solidarity and of personality that is consciously formal and grand.

The contrast between the rather intimidating Boylston portraits and the more relaxed portraits of the Cadwaladers emphasizes the differences between Peale's approach to art and Copley's, but it also signifies a more general change that occurred in American portraiture during the years just prior to the Revolution; by 1772, Copley also had changed his style to a less materialistic, simpler presentation of his subjects that emphasized character and personality. By showing the Cadwaladers in a variety of poses and costumes, Peale created a more

comfortable, less insistent vision of family history. At the center of it all are John, Elizabeth, and Anne Cadwalader, an elegant, unselfconscious, self-absorbed happy family, as new and as important in the history of American art as the room they so subtly command. In their straightforward painting style, and in the manners and concept of life they represent, the Cadwalader portraits go beyond the rococo, anticipating the neoclassical style that would dominate art in the United States after the Revolution.

Fig. 36. John Singleton Copley, *Portrait of Nicholas Boylston*, c. 1769. Oil on canvas, 49 $\frac{1}{4}$ x 39" (125.1 x 99.1 cm). Harvard University Art Museums, Cambridge, Massachusetts. Bequest of Ward Nicholas Boylston, 1828, H090

Fig. 37. John Singleton Copley, *Portrait of Mrs. Thomas Boylston (Sarah Morecock)*, 1766. Oil on canvas, 51 x 40 $\frac{1}{2}$ " (129.5 x 101.9 cm). Harvard University Art Museums, Cambridge, Massachusetts. Bequest of Ward Nicholas Boylston, 1828, H016

Fig. 38. John Singleton Copley, *Portrait of Rebecca Boylston*, 1767. Oil on canvas, 50 x 40" (127 x 101.6 cm). Museum of Fine Arts, Boston. Bequest of Barbara Boylston Bean, 1976.667

1. Margaretta M. Lovell, "Painters and Their Customers: Aspects of Art and Money in Eighteenth-Century America," in *Of Consuming Interests: The Style of Life in the Eighteenth Century*, ed. Cary Carson, Ronald Hoffman, and Peter J. Albert (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia in association with the United States Capitol Historical Society, 1994), p. 287.
2. Nicholas B. Wainwright, *Colonial Grandeur in Philadelphia: The House and Furniture of General John Cadwalader* (Philadelphia: Historical Society of Pennsylvania, 1964), p. 47.
3. The possible sequences in which the paintings could have been made are reviewed in Karol A. Schmiegel, "'Encouragement Exceeding Expectation': The Lloyd-Cadwalader Patronage of Charles Willson Peale," in *New Perspectives on Charles Willson Peale: A 250th Anniversary Celebration*, ed. Lillian B. Miller and David C. Ward (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1991), pp. 68–69, n. 13.
4. C. W. Peale to John Cadwalader, March 22, 1771, *The Selected Papers of Charles Willson Peale and His Family*, ed. Lillian B. Miller (New Haven: Yale University Press in association with the National Portrait Gallery, Smithsonian Institution, 1983), vol. 1, p. 92.
5. Schmiegel 1991, p. 55.
6. Robert J. H. Janson-LaPalme, "Generous Marylanders: Paying for Peale's Study in England," in *New Perspectives on Charles Willson Peale* (note 3), p. 11.
7. Schmiegel 1991, p. 55.
8. C. W. Peale to John Beale Bordley, July 29, 1772, *Selected Papers*, vol. 1, pp. 123–24, and p. 126, n. 3.
9. T. H. Breen, "'Baubles of Britain': The American and Consumer Revolutions of the Eighteenth Century," in *Of Consuming Interests* (note 1), pp. 458–59.
10. Jules David Prown, "Charles Willson Peale in London," in *New Perspectives on Charles Willson Peale* (note 3), p. 36.
11. *Ibid.*, p. 44.
12. See Peale to Bordley (note 8), p. 124.
13. Aileen Ribeiro, *The Art of Dress* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1995), p. 22–23.
14. Sir Joshua Reynolds, *A Discourse Delivered to the Students of the Royal Academy, on the Distribution of the Prizes, December 10, 1772* (London, 17[7]3), p. 24.
15. Margaretta M. Lovell, "Reading Eighteenth-Century American Family Portraits: Social Images and Self-Images," *Winterthur Portfolio*, vol. 22, no. 4 (Winter 1987), p. 247.
16. *Ibid.*
17. Prown 1991, p. 43.
18. Charles Coleman Sellers, *Portraits and Miniatures by Charles Willson Peale* (Philadelphia: American Philosophical Society, 1952), p. 21.
19. Schmiegel 1991, p. 59.
20. *Ibid.*, p. 60.
21. Wainwright 1964, p. 47.
22. Carol Troyen, "Mrs. Thomas Boylston (Sarah Morecock)," in *John Singleton Copley in America* (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1995), p. 224, n. 3.



Sadly, John and Elizabeth Cadwalader could enjoy the comfort and sophisticated elegance of their Second Street town house for only a short time. Soon after the birth of their third child, Elizabeth fell seriously ill. She died February 15, 1776, and was buried the following day at St. Peter's Church in a "Red Cedar Coffin Cover'd w[ith] Superfine Cloth," ordered from the cabinetmaker Thomas Affleck.¹

John immersed himself in his military command and spent little time in the house after Elizabeth's death. During the British occupation of Philadelphia (September 1777–June 1778), the house was commandeered and occupied by General Howe and later, by the Hessian General Knyphausen (see Appendix). Anticipating the British occupation, Cadwalader had sent much of the house's contents out of the city for safekeeping. Jasper Yeates of Lancaster, Pennsylvania, instructed his wife in December 1776, that "Col. John Cadwalader had requested Leave of me to store a part of his most valuable Furniture in our House. If it should come up to you in my Absence, you will please to have it put up in the Garret & have the Room locked up."² Thus, many of the ornate furnishings survived the damage and looting suffered in many Philadelphia town houses during the occupation.

Upon the British evacuation of Philadelphia in June 1778, Cadwalader arranged with



Yeates to have the remaining contents of the house secured and returned to Philadelphia. He then closed the house and rejoined his three daughters and their nurse at Shrewsbury Farm, Elizabeth's family property in Maryland, which she had inherited upon her father's death. Cadwalader reestablished himself in Kent County and later served briefly in the Maryland legislature.

On January 30, 1779, Cadwalader married Williamina Bond, daughter of the prominent Philadelphia physician Dr. Phineas Bond. The couple had three children, only two of whom survived infancy. The family spent intermittent periods in Philadelphia through 1785. In the winter of 1786, after taking a chill while duck hunting in Maryland, John Cadwalader fell ill, lapsed into a coma, and died on February 10, 1786. He was buried at Shrewsbury Church in Maryland.

Williamina Bond Cadwalader returned with her two children to Philadelphia (the three daughters of the general's first marriage were placed under the care of their uncle, General Philemon Dickinson), and she lived at the Second Street house intermittently until 1793, when it was sold to the merchant William Cramond. In turn the house passed by sale to Stephen Girard, who around 1816 had the house demolished and the property redeveloped. The furnishings and contents of the

Fig. 39. Gilbert Stuart (American, 1755–1828). *Portrait of David Montagu, Second Baron Erskine*, 1802. Oil on canvas, 29½ x 24¼" (74 x 61.3 cm). Philadelphia Museum of Art. Purchased for the Cadwalader Collection with funds contributed by the Mabel Pew Myrin Trust and the gift of an anonymous donor, 1983–90–6

Fig. 40. Gilbert Stuart, *Portrait of Frances Cadwalader Montagu, Lady Erskine*, 1802. Oil on canvas, 29½ x 24¼" (74.4 x 61.3 cm). Philadelphia Museum of Art. Purchased for the Cadwalader Collection with funds contributed by the Mabel Pew Myrin Trust and the gift of an anonymous donor, 1983–90–7



Fig. 41. Thomas Sully (American, born England, 1783–1872), *Portrait of Lambert Cadwalader*, c. 1800–1810. Oil on wood panel, 29¼ x 24" (74.3 x 61 cm). Collection of Mac Cadwalader Hollenback

house were distributed among the general's five children and were further dispersed as a result of later marriages.

In 1799, John and Williamina's daughter, Frances Cadwalader, married David Montagu, second baron Erskine, who was at that time serving as secretary to the British legation in Philadelphia. In 1802, just before the couple moved permanently to England, they had their portraits painted by Gilbert Stuart (figs. 39, 40).

Thomas Cadwalader (1779–1841), the only son of John and Williamina Bond Cadwalader, received one fourth of his father's estate, including much of the Second Street house's furnishings, by terms of John's will. John's brother, Lambert, provided council to his nephew and advised him on his military and civic aspirations and responsibilities. A handsome portrait of Lambert Cadwalader painted by Thomas Sully (fig. 41) shows the same strong face of Peale's portrait (fig. 29) tempered by time and with a leonine head of hair—an

indicator of both the passage of years and the shift in taste that had occurred since Peale had painted Lambert as a young man some thirty years before. In a letter to Thomas's mother in 1798, Lambert reassured her as to her son's ambitions:

He has many features which put me strongly in mind of his father; in whose steps he very worthily aims to tread, and whose excellent example I hope and believe he will ever wish to imitate. . . . The virtues of his father were of so eminent a kind, and so highly estimated by all who knew him, that Tom will find it a difficult task, with all the good sense he possesses, and the good qualities I justly ascribe to him, to raise himself to his father's level.³

Like his father, Thomas Cadwalader distinguished himself through his public service, military accomplishments, and philanthropy during his career. In 1798, he joined the First Troop, Philadelphia City Cavalry, and eventually rose to the rank of major general in the Pennsylvania militia. A graduate of the University of Pennsylvania, he became a financial advisor and agent for the Penn family and director of the Second Bank of the United States. In 1804, he married Mary Biddle, the daughter of Colonel Clement Biddle; the couple had five children.

General Thomas Cadwalader was a man of great intellect and style—qualities evident in an 1833 portrait by Thomas Sully (fig. 42). His home at the southeast corner of Ninth and Arch Streets became a center of entertainment and scholarly debate for a number of the city's intellectual leaders, and it is perhaps through such contacts that Cadwalader became a close friend and confidant of Joseph Bonaparte, the former king of Spain and elder brother of Napoleon. Forced to leave France after his brother's abdication in 1815, Bonaparte established an elegant villa, Point Breeze, on the Delaware River near Bordentown, New Jersey. His mansion and extensive surrounding gardens and grounds were filled with his unparalleled collections of European paintings and furniture, some of which were exhibited at the Pennsylvania Academy of Fine Arts. The influential circle of artisans, intellectuals, and civic leaders that frequented Bonaparte's mansion included many members of the Cadwaladers' social network, and it was likely their interaction and friendship that influenced the couple's domestic tastes for things French (see fig. 43).

In May 1833, Bonaparte presented Thomas Cadwalader with a valuable and rare Greek vase (amphora), excavated at his brother's Italian estate. "I hope to spend the winter with you in Philadelphia," he wrote, "in the meantime, I beg you to accept an Etruscan [*sic*] vase that my brother Lucien has replaced here."⁴ About the same time, Bonaparte sent a vase (stamnos) to Dr. Nathaniel Chapman, also of Philadelphia (fig. 44), and in 1836, he presented "an Etruscan cup" (kylix) to the American Philosophical Society, of which he was a member.

Bonaparte and Cadwalader remained close friends and corresponded regularly until Joseph's final departure from Philadelphia in the fall of 1839. On October 25, he wrote:

My dear General,

It is necessary for me to leave for England on the first of November, with the hope but not the certainty of returning. I hope that you will accept with pleasure the memento that I send you in memory of the sentiments that have united me with your family during my long stay among you.

Please be assured of [my best wishes], both in the old world and the new.

Your affectionate servant and friend,

Joseph, Comte de Surville

P.S. The Rape of Europa is one of the best paintings by Coypel, of the French School of the last century.⁵

The Rape of Europa (fig. 45), Bonaparte's parting gift to Cadwalader, has been described as "the first eighteenth-century French painting of importance to enter America."⁶ The mythological scene, which shows Jupiter in the guise of a bull abducting the nymph Europa, was given to the Philadelphia Museum of Art in 1978 by John Cadwalader, the great-great-grandson of General Thomas Cadwalader.

These same traditions of philanthropic civic involvement and support of the arts were also demonstrated by General Thomas Cadwalader's sons, Judge John Cadwalader (1805–1879) and General George Cadwalader (1806–1879), each of whom grew to professional and political prominence in the city and established influential reputations as patrons of Philadelphia artistic and social causes. Possibly influenced by their parents' interest in French style, the two brothers established city resi-



dences that included the latest in refined French interior decorations and furnishings (see figs. 46, 47).

Judge John Cadwalader, the oldest son of General Thomas Cadwalader, graduated from the University of Pennsylvania in 1821 and studied law under the prominent jurist Horace Binney, whose daughter Mary he married in 1828. After Mary's death in 1831, he married Henrietta Maria Bancker. In 1858, Cadwalader was appointed judge of the U.S. District Court in Philadelphia, a position he held until his death in 1879. The judge's stylish town house at 240 South Fourth Street, which he purchased in 1837, had a large, double parlor that was decorated with painted frescoes, fashionable French wallpapers, ornamental gesso ceilings, cornice decorations, and floral-patterned, imported Wilton carpets.

George Cadwalader, the judge's younger brother, was also a graduate of the University of Pennsylvania and, following family tradition,

Fig. 42. Thomas Sully, *Portrait of General Thomas Cadwalader*, 1833. Oil on canvas, 30 $\frac{3}{4}$ x 25" (77 x 63.5 cm). Philadelphia Museum of Art. Purchased for the Cadwalader Collection with funds contributed by the Mabel Pew Myrin Trust and the gift of an anonymous donor, 1983–90–10



Fig. 44. Attic Red-Figure Vase (Stamnos), c. 490 B.C. Attributed to the Kleophrades Painter (Greek, active c. 500–480 B.C.). Reddish-brown earthenware, 13 $\frac{3}{16}$ x 15 $\frac{1}{4}$ " (34 x 40 cm). Philadelphia Museum of Art. Gift of Dr. F. W. Lewis, 1899–204. On loan to the University Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology, University of Pennsylvania

In 1828, Lucien Bonaparte, the prince of Canino and younger brother of Napoleon, excavated a cache of classical ceramics on the grounds of his Italian estate. Several of these fine pieces were sent to his brother Joseph, then living near Philadelphia, who in turn presented them to General Thomas Cadwalader and to other prominent Philadelphia individuals and institutions.



Fig. 43. Pier Table, c. 1800–1810. Made in Philadelphia, attributed to the workshop of Ephraim Haines (American, 1775–1837) and Henry Connelly (American, 1770–1826). Mahogany, poplar, and pine, 36 x 43 $\frac{1}{4}$ x 19" (91.4 x 109.9 x 48.3 cm). Lent by a member of the Cadwalader family

This pier table, which descended in the Cadwalader family, is typical of the furniture produced by Philadelphia cabinetmakers in the French neoclassical style. Such domestic furniture styles were strongly influenced by imported French and English examples.



Fig. 45. Noël-Nicolas Coypel (French, 1690–1734), *The Rape of Europa*, 1726–27. Oil on canvas, 50¼ x 76¾" (127.6 x 194 cm). Philadelphia Museum of Art. Gift of John Cadwalader, 1978–160–1

This painting was brought to the United States by Joseph Bonaparte and was displayed, along with other important works from his collection, in a series of exhibitions at the Pennsylvania Academy of the Fine Arts. When Bonaparte returned to Europe in 1839, he presented the work to General Thomas Cadwalader as a token of their friendship.

Fig. 46. Double Box, c. 1754–55. Made in France, probably by Jean Ducrollet (French, active 1722–59). Gold with enamel decoration, 3¼ x 2 x 1⅞" (8.3 x 5.1 x 4.8 cm). Lent by a member of the Cadwalader family



Fig. 47. Pair of Pitchers, c. 1840–41. Made by Mortimer & Hunt (London, 1823–42). Silver, $8\frac{1}{2} \times 6\frac{1}{4} \times 4\frac{1}{2}$ " (21.6 x 15.9 x 11.4 cm) each. National Grange Mutual Insurance Company, The Green Tree Collection, 1975-S-3



The form of these vessels is based upon the ancient Roman *askos*, a jug that is made to resemble a wine-skin. This pair also includes French Empire decorative elements in their design.

Fig. 48. Urn, 1844. Made in Philadelphia by George K. Childs (American, active 1828–50). Silver, height 30" (76.2 cm). Private collection

Pair of Soup Tureens, 1850. Made by Bailey & Co. (Philadelphia, est. 1847). Silver, height 18" (45.7 cm). Private collection

This large silver urn and pair of soup tureens are typical of the late Empire period. They were presented to General George Cadwalader to honor his service to the community in suppressing the nativist riots of 1844 and as a military commander during the Mexican War.



a member of the First Troop, Philadelphia City Cavalry. He had a long and distinguished military career, serving as a general in both the Mexican War (1846–48) and in the Civil War (1861–65). He also played a key role in quelling civil unrest during the 1844 nativist riots in Philadelphia, which had been sparked by labor dislocations brought about by the large numbers of immigrants (mostly Catholic) that were competing with artisans trying to protect their standards of living through labor organizations. For his efforts, Cadwalader was presented with a large silver urn inscribed with a tribute in his honor (fig. 48).

George Cadwalader was known for his various social interests, his sportsmanship, and his devotion to numerous causes. He owned champion race horses, a summer villa in Newport, Rhode Island, and a fashionable town house at 299 Chestnut Street. In 1830, he married Fanny Butler Mease, and the couple's Philadelphia home became the site of many lavish social gatherings. On March 4, 1839, Sidney George Fisher of Philadelphia described a dinner there:

At 9 went to a small, but very beautiful recherché party at Mrs. Geo. Cadwalader's. . . . The rooms are very rich and splendid, & also in excellent taste, tho I think too costly for our style of living and habits. Walls & ceilings painted in fresco by Monachesi, curtains, chairs, divan, ottomans of the richest white damask satin embroidered, vases, candelabra, chandeliers, enormous mirrors in great profusion, chairs white & gold, beautiful carpets, etc. etc., in two large rooms, brilliantly lighted, and filled with about 50 well-dressed and well-bred men & women, sitting in quiet talk, made a pretty scene. The supper was in the same style of sumptuous elegance, without profusion. They have been accustomed to this thing all their lives, and do it with ease, propriety & grace.⁷

The "enormous mirrors in great profusion" probably included a pair of neoclassical looking glasses that descended in the Cadwalader family (see fig. 49).

The extensive household furnishings of General John Cadwalader, his son Thomas, and his grandson George were later dispersed through inheritance, marriage, and the passage of time. While many objects remained in the family in a relatively direct line of descent, others have been lost or are presently unlocated.

The Philadelphia Museum of Art has been the fortunate repository for many important



fig. 49. Looking Glass
c. 1820–50. Made in
England. White pine,
gesso, gilt, 43 x 24" (109.2 x
61 cm). Lent by a member
of the Cadwalader family

Looking glasses in the neoclassical style remained popular in Philadelphia throughout the early nineteenth century. This glass, one of a pair that descended in the Cadwalader family, is typical of the type imported and sold by a number of Philadelphia looking glass manufacturers.

objects relating to the Cadwalader family. In addition to the portraits and furniture described in the preceding pages, the Cadwalader Collection at the Museum, acquired in the early 1980s, contains other portraits of the extended family and their relations by prominent artists working in Philadelphia in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. These include a portrait of Phineas Bond (c. 1773), the father of Williamina Bond, John Cadwalader's second wife, attributed to Gilbert Stuart; a Thomas Sully portrait of Charles Nicoll Bancker (1830), whose daughter Henrietta Maria married Judge John Cadwalader in 1833; a Sully portrait of John Teackle (1815) of Accomac County, Virginia, the maternal grandfather of Henrietta Maria Cadwalader; and a Jacob Eicholtz portrait of one of Teackle's daughters, Eliza Teackle Montgomery, painted in 1822.

The patronage, support, and direction supplied by the Cadwalader family proved pivotal in the development of America's early artistic

character, helping to define the tastes and aspirations of a wider circle of craftsmen and consumers. It is hoped that this exhibition, in drawing together a range of objects that so vividly demonstrates the family's active interest in the arts over several generations, will lead to the identification of additional archival materials, objects, and information illuminating their important contribution to the American scene.

1. Bill of Thomas Affleck, February 16, 1776, Cadwalader Collection, Historical Society of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, reproduced in Nicholas B. Wainwright, *Colonial Grandeur in Philadelphia: The House and Furniture of General John Cadwalader* (Philadelphia: Historical Society of Pennsylvania, 1964), p. i.
2. Jasper Yeates to Sarah Yeates, December 4, 1776, transcribed in *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography*, vol. 40, no. 3 (1916), p. 376, quoted in Wainwright 1964, p. 65.
3. Lambert Cadwalader to Mrs. John Cadwalader (née Williamina Bond), August 17, 1798, General John Cadwalader Estate Papers, Historical Society of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia.
4. Joseph Bonaparte to Thomas Cadwalader, May 26, 1833, copy on file in the Department of European Painting before 1900 at the Philadelphia Museum of Art. For an in-depth discussion of Bonaparte's influence in the United States, see Wendy A. Cooper, *Classical Taste in America: 1800–1840*, exh. cat. (Baltimore: The Baltimore Museum of Art; New York: Abbeville Press, 1993), pp. 68–71, 99–100.
5. Joseph Bonaparte to Thomas Cadwalader, October 25, 1839, copy on file in the Department of European Painting before 1900 at the Philadelphia Museum of Art.
6. Colin B. Bailey, *The Loves of the Gods: Mythological Painting from Watteau to David*, exh. cat. (New York: Rizzoli, for the Kimbell Art Museum, Fort Worth), p. 284.
7. *A Philadelphia Perspective: The Diary of Sidney George Fischer, Covering the Years 1834–1871*, ed. Nicholas B. Wainwright (Philadelphia: Historical Society of Pennsylvania, 1967), p. 76. F. Monachesi was an ornamental painter working in Philadelphia. The suite of French “white and gold” chairs, which also included a sofa, was imported by Cadwalader in 1835 at a cost of more than 22,000 francs.

Inventory of General
Cadwalader's Furniture,
as left by General
Knypphausen, June 16,
1778

Reprinted by permission
of the Historical Society of
Pennsylvania, Philadelphia,
Cadwalader Collection,
Revolution Box 3

1. Below Stairs

In the large front parlour

4 tables—two mahagoni
& two marble plates
15 chairs
1 looking glass
5 guilt frames

In the small front parlour

2 tables
1 looking glass
6 chairs
4 pictures
1 closet with glass doors

In the back parlour

3 tables
1 looking glass
6 chairs
one screen
1 settee, Major Knight aid
de camp to Genl Howe
has borrowed this and not
returned. The people at
his quarters probably
know where it is.

2. Up Stairs 1st Story

In the entry

1 canopy

In the back room

1 case of drawers
1 looking glass
1 small table
6 chairs

In the front room to the right

3 tables
2 drawer cases
1 canopy (settee)
1 looking glass
9 chairs
fire tongues

In the front room to the left

1 case of drawers
1 looking glass
3 tables
1 fire tongues
5 chairs

3. Up Stairs 2nd Story

In the back room

1 looking glass
7 chairs (one broke)
1 drawer case
5 engravings with frames
1 table
1 bed with a feather bed, a
pillow & a counterpane

In the front room to the right

2 tables
13 chairs
2 drawer cases
1 bed with a feather bed,
2 pillows
1 looking glass
1 blanket

In the front room to the left

1 table
1 looking glass (split)
7 chairs
1 bed (no bedding on it)
2 drawer case

4. In the Garrett

4 chairs

5. Servants Rooms

Below stairs to the right

1 table
1 closet
6 chairs
1 fire tongues
1 case of drawers

Upstairs to the right

1 table
1 bed
4 chairs

Upstairs to the left

1 table
1 bed
4 chairs
Four waggon wheels & a
single horse chair were in
the stable, but the wheels
have been claimed & taken
away as their property by
General Sir Wm Howe's
servants, & the chair by
Mr. Craigs of this city.

Paintings

1. Charles Willson Peale
Portrait of John and Elizabeth Lloyd Cadwalader and Their Daughter Anne
1772
Oil on canvas, 51½ x 41¼" (130.8 x 104.8 cm)
Philadelphia Museum of Art. Purchased for the Cadwalader Collection with funds contributed by the Mabel Pew Myrin Trust and the gift of an anonymous donor.
1983-90-3
Fig. 25
2. Charles Willson Peale
Portrait of Dr. Thomas Cadwalader
c. 1772
Oil on canvas, 50 x 40" (127 x 101.6 cm)
Philadelphia Museum of Art. Purchased for the Cadwalader Collection with funds contributed by the Mabel Pew Myrin Trust and the gift of an anonymous donor.
1983-90-1
Fig. 27
3. Charles Willson Peale
Portrait of Hannah Lambert Cadwalader
c. 1772
Oil on canvas, 50 x 40" (127 x 101.6 cm)
Philadelphia Museum of Art. Purchased for the Cadwalader Collection with funds contributed by the Mabel Pew Myrin Trust and the gift of an anonymous donor.
1983-90-2
Fig. 28
4. Charles Willson Peale
Portrait of Colonel Lambert Cadwalader
c. 1772
Oil on canvas, 50 x 40" (127 x 101.6 cm)
Philadelphia Museum of Art. Purchased for the Cadwalader Collection with funds contributed by the Mabel Pew Myrin Trust and the gift of an anonymous donor.
1983-90-4
Fig. 29
5. Charles Willson Peale
Portrait of Martha Cadwalader Dagworthy
c. 1772
Oil on canvas, 50 x 40" (127 x 101.6 cm)
Philadelphia Museum of Art. Purchased for the Cadwalader Collection with funds contributed by the Mabel Pew Myrin Trust and the gift of an anonymous donor.
1980-135-1
Fig. 30
6. Gilbert Stuart
(American, 1755-1828)
Portrait of David Montagu, Second Baron Erskine
1802
Oil on canvas, 29½ x 24½" (74 x 61.3 cm)
Philadelphia Museum of Art. Purchased for the Cadwalader Collection with funds contributed by the Mabel Pew Myrin Trust and the gift of an anonymous donor.
1983-90-6
Fig. 39
7. Gilbert Stuart
Portrait of Frances Cadwalader Montagu, Lady Erskine
1802
Oil on canvas, 29½ x 24½" (74.4 x 61.3 cm)
Philadelphia Museum of Art. Purchased for the Cadwalader Collection with funds contributed by the Mabel Pew Myrin Trust and the gift of an anonymous donor.
1983-90-7
Fig. 40
8. Thomas Sully
(American, born England, 1783-1872)
Portrait of Lambert Cadwalader
c. 1800-1810
Oil on wood panel, 29½ x 24" (74.3 x 61 cm)
Collection of Mae Cadwalader Hollenback
Fig. 41
9. Thomas Sully
Portrait of General Thomas Cadwalader
1833
Oil on canvas, 30½ x 25" (77 x 63.5 cm)
Philadelphia Museum of Art. Purchased for the Cadwalader Collection with funds contributed by the Mabel Pew Myrin Trust and the gift of an anonymous donor.
1983-90-10
Fig. 42
10. Noël-Nicolas Coypel
(French, 1690-1734)
The Rape of Europa
1726-27
Oil on canvas, 50¼ x 76¾" (127.6 x 194 cm)
Philadelphia Museum of Art. Gift of John Cadwalader. 1978-160-1
Fig. 45
11. Tankard
c. 1712
Made in London by William Penstone (English, active after 1694)
Silver, height 8½" (21.6 cm), base diameter 6" (15.2 cm)
Philadelphia Museum of Art. Gift of Mr. and Mrs. Henry Cadwalader.
1991-81-2
Fig. 2
12. Hot Water Urn
1763
Made in London by Thomas Whipham and Charles Wright (English, active as partners 1757-75)
Engraved with the Lloyd coat of arms
Silver, height 21" (53.3 cm)
Private collection
13. Coffeepot
1763
Made in London by Thomas Whipham and Charles Wright
Engraved with the Lloyd coat of arms
Silver, height 14½" (36.8 cm)
Philadelphia Museum of Art. Purchased with the John D. McIlhenny Fund.
1988-35-1
Fig. 7
14. Chocolate Pot
1763
Made in London by Thomas Whipham and Charles Wright
Engraved with the Lloyd coat of arms
Silver, height 16¼" (42.5 cm)
Private collection
15. Teapot
1763
Made in London by Thomas Whipham and Charles Wright
Engraved with the Lloyd coat of arms
Silver, height 7¾" (19.7 cm)
Collection of Howard H. Rapp, Jr.
16. Fire Shovel and Tongs
c. 1771
Made in Philadelphia, attributed to Daniel King (American, 1731-1806)
Brass and iron, length [shovel] 27¾" (70.2 cm), length [tongs] 28¾" (73.3 cm)
The Dietrich American Foundation. On loan to the Philadelphia Museum of Art

17. Pair of Andirons
c. 1771

Made in Philadelphia, attributed to Daniel King
Brass and iron, 25½ x 14½" (64.8 x 36.8 cm)
The Dietrich American Foundation. On loan to the Philadelphia Museum of Art

18. Coconut Cup
c. 1780

Maker unknown; silver mounts made in Ireland
Inscribed: Cup presented by / Washington / to / Genl. John Cadwalader / From the L. Weir Mitchell Collection
Coconut shell with silver mounts, 3¾ x 4½ x 4" (9.5 x 11.4 x 10.2 cm)
Collection of John A. Ey, Jr.

19. Double Box
c. 1754–55

Made in France, probably by Jean Ducrollay (French, active 1722–59)
Gold with enamel decoration, 3¼ x 2 x 1¾" (8.3 x 5.1 x 4.8 cm)
Lent by a member of the Cadwalader family
Fig. 46

20. Pair of Candelabra
c. 1820–35

Made in France
Mixed metal, gilt, 25 x 6¾" (63.5 x 17.4 cm) each
Private collection

21. Pair of Pitchers
c. 1840–41

Made by Mortimer & Hunt (London, 1823–42)
Inscribed: Presented to / The Mutual Assurance Co. / April 9th 1879. / BY / Mrs. Fanny Cadwalader, / in grateful remembrance of / the attachment of its Members / to her late Husband, / Maj. Gen. George Cadwalader, / for 22 Years its President.
Silver, 8¾ x 8¾ x 4¾" (21.3 x 22.2 x 10.5 cm) each
National Grange Mutual Insurance Company. The Green Tree Collection.
1975–53
Fig. 47

22. Urn
1844

Made in Philadelphia by George K. Childs (American, active 1828–50)
Inscribed: THE DEFENCE OF THE LAWS IS THE HERO'S HIGHEST GLORY / Presented to Brigadier General Geo. Cadwalader / by the Citizens of Philadelphia / as a testimonial of their admiration & gratitude for / the distinguished ability, intrepidity & prudence manifested / by him in Suppressing the riots of May & July 1844; and of / their profound respect for him as / A Citizen, a Soldier, & a man.
Silver, 30 x 15½ x 13" (76.2 x 39.4 x 33 cm)
Private collection
Fig. 48, center

23. Pair of Soup Tureens
1850

Made by Bailey & Co. (Philadelphia, est. 1847)
Inscribed: Presented to / Gen George Cadwalader / by a large number of his / FRIENDS AND FELLOW CITIZENS / in testimony of their high approbation / of his Military Conduct when serving in the / INVADING ARMY OF MEXICO / particularly for the brilliant part he took in the conquest of the / CAPITAL OF THAT COUNTRY, / And as an evidence of their affectionate / regard for him personally.
Silver, 18 x 15 x 9½" (45.7 x 38.1 x 24.1 cm) each
Private collection
Fig. 48, sides

Furniture

24. Side Chairs (two)
c. 1770

Made in Philadelphia
Mahogany, modern upholstery, 41¾ x 23½ x 22" (106 x 59.7 x 55.9 cm) each
Philadelphia Museum of Art. Bequest of R. Wistar Harvey. 1940–10–5, 6

25. Slab Table
c. 1770

Made in Philadelphia
Mahogany, white pine, and marble, 32¾ x 48¾ x 23¼" (82.2 x 122.6 x 59.1 cm)
The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York. John Stewart Kennedy Fund, 1918.
18.110.27
Fig. 19

26. Easy Chair
c. 1770–71

Made in Philadelphia, attributed to the workshop of Thomas Affleck (American, born Scotland, 1740–1795)
Mahogany, yellow pine, white oak, white cedar, black walnut, and tulip poplar, modern upholstery, height 45" (114.3 cm)
Collection of H. Richard Dietrich, Jr.
Fig. 10

27. Card Table
c. 1770–71

Made in Philadelphia, attributed to the workshop of Thomas Affleck
Mahogany, pine, cedar, and white oak, 28¾ x 39½ x 19¾" (72.5 x 100.8 x 50.2 cm)
The Dietrich American Foundation. On loan to the Philadelphia Museum of Art
Fig. 12, left

28. Card Table
c. 1770–71

Made in Philadelphia, attributed to the workshop of Thomas Affleck
Mahogany, pine, cedar, and white oak, 28¾ x 39¾ x 19¾" (73 x 101 x 50.2 cm)
Philadelphia Museum of Art. Purchased for the Cadwalader Collection with funds contributed by the Mabel Pew Myrin Trust and the gift of an anonymous donor.
1984–6–1
Fig. 12, right

29. Pole Screen
c. 1770–71

Made in Philadelphia, attributed to the workshop of Thomas Affleck
Mahogany and white pine, 62¼ x 19 x 16" (158.1 x 48.3 x 40.6 cm), with an early eighteenth-century textile [not original], 22 x 19" (55.9 x 48.3 cm)
Philadelphia Museum of Art. Gift of Mrs. Harry A. Batten in memory of her husband. 1967–266–1
Fig. 17

30. Side Chair
c. 1770–71

Made in Philadelphia, attributed to the workshop of Thomas Affleck
Mahogany and white cedar, modern upholstery, 36¾ x 21¾ x 18¾" (93.7 x 55.6 x 46.7 cm)
Philadelphia Museum of Art. Gift of Robert L. McNeil, Jr. 1991–7–4
Fig. 18

31. Card Table
c. 1770–71

Made in Philadelphia, attributed to the workshop of Thomas Affleck
Mahogany, oak, and pine, 28¾ x 32 x 15½" (72.1 x 81.3 x 39.4 cm)
Private collection
Fig. 20

32. Side Chairs (two)
c. 1770–71
Made in Philadelphia,
attributed to the workshop
of Thomas Affleck
Mahogany and unidentified
conifers, modern
upholstery, 38 x 23 $\frac{3}{4}$ x
21 $\frac{1}{2}$ " (96.5 x 60.3 x
55.6 cm) each
The Henry Francis
du Pont Winterthur
Museum, Delaware.
60.1066.1, 2
See fig. 21

33. Looking Glass
c. 1770–71
Made in Philadelphia,
attributed to the workshop
of James Reynolds
(American, born England,
active 1766–94)
Yellow pine, 55 $\frac{1}{2}$ x 28"
(141 x 71.1 cm) overall,
35 $\frac{7}{8}$ x 18 $\frac{1}{2}$ "
(91.1 x 47 cm) glass
The Henry Francis
du Pont Winterthur
Museum, Delaware.
52.261
Fig. 22

34. Pier Table
c. 1800–1810
Made in Philadelphia,
attributed to the workshop
of Ephraim Haines
(American, 1775–1837)
and Henry Connelly
(American, 1770–1826)
Mahogany, poplar, and
pine, 36 x 43 $\frac{1}{4}$ x 19"
(91.4 x 109.9 x 48.3 cm)
Lent by a member of the
Cadwalader family
Fig. 43

35. Pair of Looking
Glasses
c. 1820–50
Made in England
White pine, gesso, gilt,
43 x 24" (109.2 x 61 cm)
each
Lent by a member of the
Cadwalader family
Fig. 49

36. Pair of Knife Boxes
c. 1825–35
Made in Philadelphia,
attributed to David
Sackriter (American, active
1807–49)
Mahogany, 28 x 12"
(71.1 x 30.5 cm) each
Philadelphia Society for
the Preservation of
Landmarks

37. Armchair
1835
Made in France
Inscribed on interior
frame: Carpin Prosper
c. 1834
White painted wood, gilt,
and gesso, modern uphol-
stery, 41 $\frac{1}{2}$ x 24 x 22 $\frac{1}{2}$ "
(105.4 x 61 x 57.2 cm)
Committee of 1926,
Strawberry Mansion

Manuscripts

38. Letter from Charles
Willson Peale to John
Cadwalader, September 7,
1770
Historical Society of
Pennsylvania, Philadelphia

39. Bill submitted to John
Cadwalader by Daniel
King, brass founder
1770
Historical Society of
Pennsylvania, Philadelphia

40. Bill submitted to John
Cadwalader by Nicholas
Bernard and Martin
Jugiez, carvers
1770
Historical Society of
Pennsylvania, Philadelphia
Fig. 5

41. Bill submitted to John
Cadwalader by James
Clow, plasterer
1770
Historical Society of
Pennsylvania, Philadelphia

42. Bill submitted to John
Cadwalader by William
Savery, cabinetmaker
1770–71
Historical Society of
Pennsylvania, Philadelphia

43. Bill submitted to John
Cadwalader by Thomas
Affleck, cabinetmaker
1770–71
Historical Society of
Pennsylvania, Philadelphia
Fig. 9

44. Bill submitted to John
Cadwalader by James
Reynolds, carver
1770–71
Historical Society of
Pennsylvania, Philadelphia

45. Bill submitted to John
Cadwalader by Plunket
Fleeson, upholsterer
1770–71
Historical Society of
Pennsylvania, Philadelphia

46. Bill submitted to John
Cadwalader by James
Reynolds, carver
1771
Historical Society of
Pennsylvania, Philadelphia

47. Bill submitted to
Matthias Gale, London
agent for John Cadwalader,
by Rushton & Beachcroft,
wholesale mercers
1771
Historical Society of
Pennsylvania, Philadelphia

48. Invoice submitted to
George Cadwalader by
Captain De Veyster for
shipment of French furni-
ture, October 22, 1835
Committee of 1926,
Strawberry Mansion

Ceramics

49. Attic Red-Figure
Vase (Stamnos)
c. 490 B.C.
Attributed to the
Kleophrades Painter
(Greek, active
c. 500–480 B.C.)
Reddish-brown earthen-
ware, 13 $\frac{3}{8}$ x 15 $\frac{3}{8}$ "
(34 x 40 cm)
Philadelphia Museum of
Art. Gift of Dr. F. W.
Lewis. On loan to the
University Museum of
Archaeology and
Anthropology, University
of Pennsylvania,
Philadelphia. 1899–204
Fig. 44

50. Tea Service
c. 1780–90
Made at the Derby porce-
lain factory (Derby,
England, 1756–1848)
Porcelain with enamel and
gilt decoration, height
[teapot] 5 $\frac{3}{8}$ " (14.3 cm),
height [teacup] 2 $\frac{7}{8}$ "
(7.3 cm), diameter [saucer]
5 $\frac{1}{2}$ " (14 cm)
Philadelphia Museum of
Art. Gift of Mr. and Mrs.
Thomas F. Cadwalader, Jr.
1990-24-1-28

Textiles

51. Sacque Gown and
Petticoat
c. 1760, with later
alterations
Made in America of
French fabric
Silk cancellé brocade,
center back length 69"
(170 cm)
Philadelphia Museum of
Art. Gift of Thomas
Francis Cadwalader.
1955-98-6a,b
Fig. 11

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